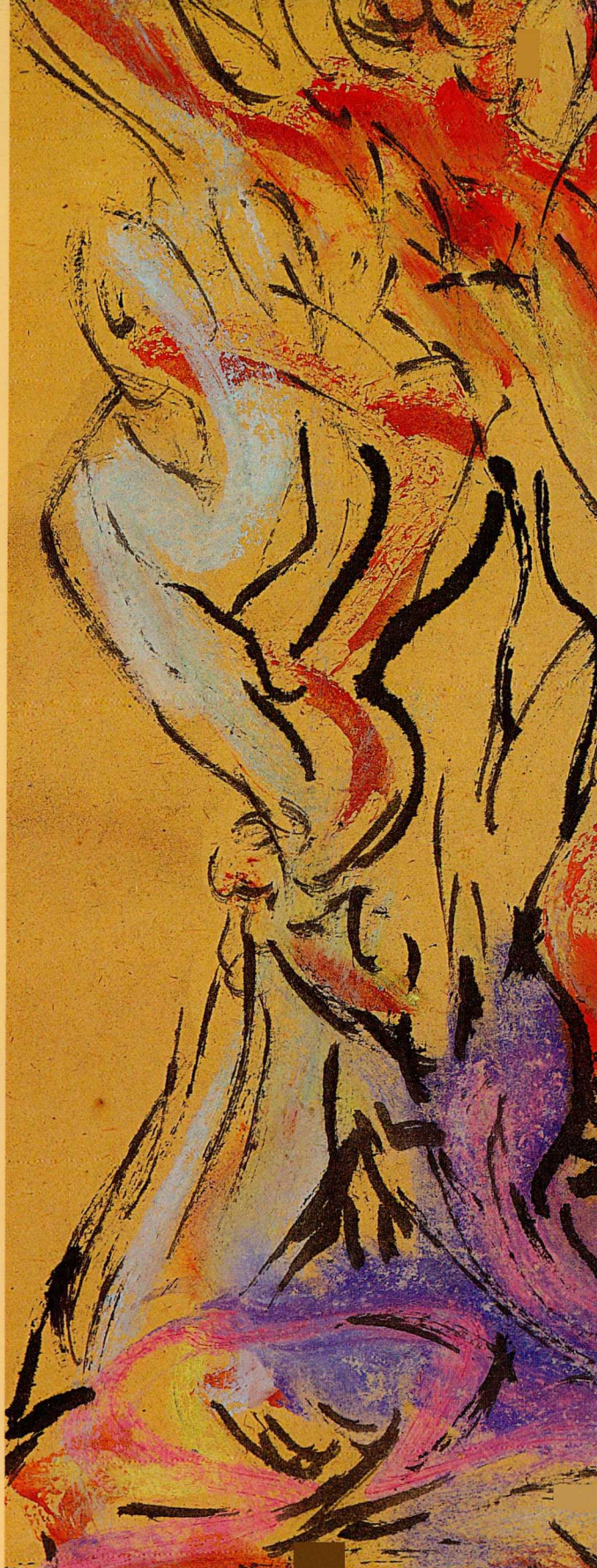
FOLK BALLADS, ETHICS, MORAL ISSUES



Edited by
GÁBOR BARNA
and
ILDIKÓ KRÍZA

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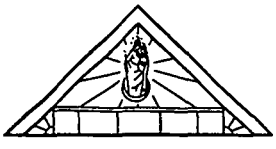

DEPARTMENT OF ETHNOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF SZEGED

INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY,
HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

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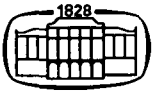

AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ, BUDAPEST

Papers of the 31st International Ballad Conference
Budapest, 21–23 April 2001

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SIEF KOMMISSION FÜR VOLKSDICHTUNG
THE 31st INTERNATIONAL BALLAD CONFERENCE

BUDAPEST, 21st–23rd April 2001

(FOREWORD)

Since 1966 ballad researchers have met regularly, generally annually, to discuss research themes and results. In 2001 the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Ethnology and European Folklore Institute hosted the meeting in Budapest and the main journal of Hungarian ethnology is publishing the papers. This volume of articles is closely linked to the earlier work, furthering the results and opening new perspectives for future research. In 1966 in Freiburg Rolf W. Brednich set up the working group known as the Kommission für Volksdichtung, as a sub-committee of SIEF (Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore). It worked under his leadership right up to 1983, when the ballad researchers David Buchan and Stefan Top were elected chairmen. Since 2000 Luisa del Giudice has headed the Kommission. Over the past three decades the members have also been replaced and there has been considerable change in the nature of research and the areas of interest.

The initial goal of the international working committee, after completion of the national catalogues, was to elaborate an international ballad typology. Over the past three decades numerous folk ballad catalogues have been produced, without which comparative studies would now be inconceivable. The programme of the working group also included discussion of the eleven main ballad groups and its appearance in the system of national folklore research. In addition to an overview of the subgroups within the genre, other scholarly themes were regularly examined. The modern questions of folklore studies appeared in ballad research too. However, a few fundamental themes were not covered, despite the fact that the conference organisers generally proposed three main themes. One of the gaps was the appearance of ethical and moral problems in folk ballads. This was the most widely discussed issue in Budapest, in addition to questions of the performance style, historical evolution and local appearance of the ballad.

It follows from the tragedy-reporting characteristic of the folk ballad that ethical and moral issues appear directly or indirectly, generally in a social context related to the history of the people concerned. Such issues include incest, cannibalism and the dilemma of loyalty or disloyalty. No single genre of folk poetry is capable of covering all aspects of ethics. Indeed, it can be said that scholarly classification is not capable either of tracing ethics in all aspects of folklore. Nevertheless, there are moral issues which typically appear in ballads and this genre is capable of throwing light on de-

tails regarding the essence of traditional morality and behaviour which are hidden parts of folk culture. The concept of justice is relative and its evaluation changes from one period to another. As a result, the ethical attitude of the ballads, the message embedded in the action is barely understandable for today's values and it is only with the help of analysis by experts that we can learn the real meaning.

The manifestation in folk poetry of the reality of mediaeval and early modern society can be found in ritual songs. Some of these were discovered and classified in the 19th century by researchers as ballads and epic songs since the role of rites had faded by then. As a result, the meaning and function of the ballads remained unknown. Researchers revealed the significance and social role of the genre. It was discovered that the ballads were performed at weddings, funerals, calendar feasts and other occasions where they served as a warning or example under the given circumstances. Accordingly, the content conveyed a moral position or social rule, although in indirect form, in the language of poetry and generally embedded in old-fashioned action. Arising from these facts, the present volume contains many new results of interest to experts.

The conference provided an opportunity to learn about areas previously unknown to ballad research. Representatives of new countries joined the working group. Among others, Afrikaans ballads of South Africa and Lithuanian ballads representing the tradition of the Baltic peoples came into the focus of attention for the first time. Moreover, the debate on what form the genre, thought to be of European origin, takes on other continents, was enriched with a Japanese example. It is all the more to be regretted that a Japanese and six other colleagues did not send their papers for inclusion in the proceedings. As a result, the publication cannot give a full picture of the 31st ballad conference.

As the organiser of the conference, I wish to thank the participants who have contributed to the progress of ballad research by making their papers available for publication. I also thank Gábor Barna, editor of the representative journal of Hungarian ethnology, for helping the production of this volume of studies of importance for ballad research.

Ildikó KRÍZA

BALLADS AND MORAL ISSUES

LANG, LANG MAY THE LADIES STAND: A BALLAD MOTIF IN THE BOOK OF JUDGES

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Abstract: The biblical books of Exodus and Judges each contain a long narrative song with striking analogies, performative as well as structural, to the Scots ballads that William Motherwell writes about in his 1827 *Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern.* The second of these songs, the "Song of Deborah," also shares a motif with two Scots ballads in particular, the motif of the bereft ladies. This motif may be described as the introduction at the end of the song, for ironic effect, of ladies not implicated in the main action of the plot who rather wait in vain for the return of their husbands, unaware that they have already perished. This motif proves to be rare in the oral tradition of Europe and Asia Minor. But apparently it has entered the popular imagination of United States Americans, as is demonstrated by the common use of the probably inaccurate term *widow's walk* to describe a vernacular architectural feature originally found on some New England homes, and by the choice of the motif to conclude a vernacular poem published on the internet.

Keywords: Bible: Judges; Song of Deborah; ballad; Scotland; oral tradition; vernacular architecture

When I, as a folklorist, came to teach the Hebrew Bible to first- and second-year undergraduate students, I immediately recognized that the Torah and Former Prophets (Genesis through 2 Kings) contained a record of traditions, largely oral, of the ancient Jewish people. It was easy to spot the formulas and themes I'd learned of from oral theory. And it was even easier to identify a host of folk genres, including proverb, prayer, genealogy, novelle, law, saga, myth, fable, legend, and even snatches of song. We do not know how this mass of folk material came to be written down. Of one thing we can be reasonably certain, however. Ancient Israel did not have a William Motherwell systematically going around with notebook in hand, seeking out those souls, aged and obscure, who remembered best the old ways and the old forms, setting down for its own sake, exactly as recited, the traditional material those old ones had to give him, and completing his work with a clear account of what he had done. Indeed, it would seem that no people before the nineteenth-century Scots had a William Motherwell. He was truly an original and a first.[1]

Because the folk material in the Torah and Former Prophets is so thoroughly edited, collated, and synthesized, many stories and songs that probably existed once

[1] Of course every great gem has its setting. In Motherwell's case, Joseph Ritson, Sir Walter Scott, Peter Buchan, and Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, among others, helped the collector formulate his principles and praxis. For more on Motherwell see BROWN 2001.

in longer, fuller renditions have nonetheless been preserved as no more than fragments. There was, after all, no William Motherwell to insist on the integrity of each individual piece. How startling, then, to find something so long and complete, something so close to a ballad, as, first, the "Song of Miriam" and then the "Song of Deborah". The first of these tells the story of the drowning of Pharaoh's army in the sea. The second tells how Deborah, with Barak, led an army against the army of Sisera, and how Sisera, fleeing from defeat, was killed by the woman Jael. Again, we do not know how these longer songs came to be transcribed and included in the books of Genesis and Judges respectively. Two of the oldest passages in the Bible, they are of an antiquity that makes the ballads seem almost new by comparison. And yet some aspects of the songs and their contexts are strangely reminiscent of aspects of the ballad that Motherwell comments upon in the extensive and detailed introduction he prepared for his major work, *Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern* (1827).

Motherwell collected many of his ballads from elderly women, or "old singing women" as he calls them in his notebook, and in the introduction of *Minstrelsy* he refers to these singers as "every venerable sybil in the land" (MOTHERWELL 1827: xxvii). The first and most obvious connection, then, is that these two biblical songs are also attributed to women, indeed to prophetic women of mature years. Miriam was the older sister of Moses, who was no longer young when he led the children of Israel out of Egypt. Deborah was a prophetess and judge, a role she probably would not have taken on until after menopause, and in addition she bore the honorific appellation "mother of Israel" (Judges 5:7, New Jerusalem Bible). In each case the text as it now stands also assigns the song to a prominent male figure. In the case of Miriam, Exodus 15 provides a doublet. The preceding chapter has narrated the story of the crossing, ending with a short comment to the effect that in this way God saved the people and the people reverenced God in turn. At the beginning of Chapter 15, we are told that Moses and the Israelites then sang a song to God that begins as follows:

> "I will sing to the Lord, for he has triumphed gloriously;
> horse and rider he has thrown into the sea."
> (Exodus 15:1, Revised Standard Version)

At verse 19, immediately after the song, the doublet begins. The reader is carried back to the moment when Pharaoh enters the seabed:

> When the horses of Pharaoh with his chariots and his chariot drivers went into the sea, the Lord brought back the waters of the sea upon them: but the Israelites walked through the sea on dry ground.
>
> Then the prophet Miriam, Aaron's sister, took a tambourine in her hand; and all the women went out after her with tambourines and with dancing. And Miriam sang to them:
>
> "Sing to the Lord, for he has triumphed gloriously;
> horse and rider he has thrown into the sea."
> (Exodus 15:19–21, New Revised Standard Version)

The text does not give any more of Miriam's song, but obviously these words are a variant version of the beginning of the same song as is attributed to Moses and the Israelites in verse 1. The editor or redactor retained (or perhaps even created) the doublet but did not deem it necessary to repeat the whole song the second time.

The case of the "Song of Deborah" is simpler. The first verse of Judges 5, as it now stands, states, "Then Deborah and Barak, son of Abinoam, sang on that day, saying ...". But the form of the Hebrew verb that is here translated *sang* is feminine singular. Obviously the name of Barak was added by a later editor or redactor who did not think to—or perhaps dare to—change the verb to make it agree with a double subject. Perhaps a better translation for the verse as it now stands would be: "Then Deborah sang on that day (Barak, son of Abinoam, too), saying ...".

Second, and equally obviously, Motherwell considers ballads as narratives. More significantly, he suggests that in many cases the ancient ballads "were narratives of real facts produced on the spur of the occasion" (MOTHERWELL 1827: xxiii). The two biblical songs are likewise presented as historical narratives immediately occasioned by the very events they narrate. Motherwell goes on to suggest that this mode of composition accounts for the formulaic quality of the verse, replete as it is with commonplaces. These two songs likewise rely to a considerable extent on formulaic language and commonplaces.

A number of other connections might be drawn, some trivial, some more substantial. Let me skip immediately to what I consider the most interesting connection of all, Motherwell's hypothesis that in former times ballads, telling their tale as they do rather jejunely, were preceded by a more prosaic narrative of the events therein commemorated. We may infer, he says, that ballads

> were prefaced with some account of the previous history of the several individuals whom they respectively commemorate; and that many minute circumstances elucidatory of them were detailed, not only for the purpose of interesting their hearers, but likewise to make the abrupt transitions occurring in some of these ballads more easy of apprehension to such as were strangers in the company. That this was the fact admits of little doubt. Traces of such a custom still remain in the lowlands of Scotland, among those who have stores of these songs upon their memory. Reciters [i.e. singers] frequently, when any part of the narrative appears incomplete, supply the defect in prose...
>
> [M]any of these ballads had certain frames in which they were set, and which, like the chorus of the Ancient Drama, discussed the motives of the characters, or entered more minutely into their history than was consistent with the limits and action of the metrical piece ..., information which the Ancient Minstrel in all probability announced orally to his audience before he smote his harp with the hand of power.
>
> (MOTHERWELL 1827: xiv, xvii)

Motherwell cites similar practices from Gaelic, Earse, Welsh, French, Danish, and Icelandic oral tradition. Each of the two lyric narratives under discussion is likewise preceded by a prose account of the events related in the song and, in the case of the

"Song of Deborah", followed as well by a brief statement of the significance of the events therein recounted. In the latter case, too, the preceding prose account shows strong dependence upon the song, even where the redactor does not understand the ancient language of the song very well. Apparently the redactor (or redactors) has chosen to present these songs within a narrative frame, to use Motherwell's word, in order to remain true to the traditional way in which he would have heard them and others like them regularly sung. In these two songs we may have that rarest of things, a piece of ancient oral tradition presented in the context, at least the oral context, in which it would have been performed.

Clearly, then, there are a number of correspondences between these two narrative songs and ballads, including Scots ballads as discussed by William Motherwell. As these are generic connections, it does not seem unreasonable to assert unity of genre and to call these biblical songs ballads, as J. Blenkinsopp does call the "Song of Deborah" (BLENKINSOPP 1961: 63). True, the events are not narrated as clearly as they might be, and the lyric element is strong. But the same might be said of "The Bonny Earl of Murray" (CHILD 181) or "Sheath and Knife" (CHILD 15/16). Granted these generic connections, however, I want to focus, for the remainder of this paper on a more specific connection between one of these "ballads," the "Song of Deborah", and a particular pair of Scots ballads,

The "Song of Deborah" has attracted a distinguished roster of commentators and explicators in the twentieth century. It is not my intention here to go into the precise relationship of the song to the preceding narrative of Deborah's battle against Sisera and his subsequent death at the hand of the Kenite woman Jael; into the question of whether the song is celebratory of the power of God who can bring down the mighty by the hand of a woman, satirical in its depiction of a great warrior felled by a woman, or merely ironic; into the alliances and non-alliances of Israeli tribes represented by the middle section of the song; into the determination of which parts of the song are probably original and which parts may be accretions; into structural, stanzaic, and metrical difficulties; into such fine points of interpretation as whether Jael is depicted as using a mallet and tent peg or only a tent peg to dispatch her victim; or into such questions of expected audience reception as whether the final scene in the ballad is an example of "poignant description" (YOUNGER 2001: 363) or "delicious sarcasm" (NELSON 1999: 304)[2]. I am, however, interested in that final episode, which is probably the clearest and most ballad-like part of the song.

> From the window peered down and wailed
> the mother of Sisera, from the lattice:

[2] Extensive bibliographies on the Song of Deborah may be found in BAL 1988, LINDARS 1995, and ACKERMAN 1998. Ackerman devotes a whole chapter to Sisera's mother, in her role as Queen Mother. Somewhat as I do further on in this paper, she looks to material culture for parallels to the image that she is concerned with, that of a Queen Mother at a window. She suggests that she may have found such a parallel in representations of a woman at a window found on ninth- and eighth-century ivory plaques collected at four Near Eastern archeological sites (ACKERMAN 1998: 155–156).

"Why is his chariot so long in coming:
why are the hoofbeats of his chariots delayed?"
The wisest of her princesses answers her,
and she, too, keeps answering herself:
"They must be dividing the spoil they took"
there must be a damsel or two for each man,
Spoils of dyed cloth as Sisera's spoil,
an ornate shawl or two for me in the spoil."
(Judges 5:28-30, New American Bible)

These are the last lines of the song, barring a short petition/doxology at the end, almost surely a separate piece of verse:

May all your enemies perish thus, O Lord!
but your friends be as the sun rising in its might.

Coming back to the "Song of Deborah" after years of ballad study, I was indeed startled by this set of verses describing the bereft woman watching in vain for the return of a man dear to her. I knew that motif from Scots ballads. At the end of "The Bonnie Earl of Murray" (CHILD 181A) we are told:

Oh lang will his Lady
Look oer the castle Down,
Eer she see the Earl of Murray,
Come sounding through the Town!

Here too a lady, probably as in the Song of Deborah the man's mother (the Earl's wife had died three months previous to the murder of the Earl himself), is watching for the return of a character in the song, unaware that he is already dead (IVES 1997:93). Similarly, in Sir Patrick Spens (CHILD 58A) we are told:

O lang, lang may their ladies sit,
Wi their fans into their hand,
Or eir they se Sir Patrick Spence
Cum sailing to the land.

O lang, lang may the ladies stand,
Wi thair gold kems in their hair,
Waiting for thair ain deir lords,
For they 'll see thame na mair.

In this ballad a whole shipload of men has perished, and consequently many ladies, not just one, watch in vain.

In all three of these songs a common "theme" (in Albert Lord's sense of the

word) or motif is developed. From these examples we can derive the constituent elements of this bereft ladies motif.

1. A central character in the narrative song has died.
2. A woman or some women watch expectantly for him to return, perhaps accompanied by his retainers. These women may be wives, mothers, or presumably sweethearts or sisters. The vantage point from which they watch would seem to be a high place, a window or wall.
3. The woman or women are new characters making their first appearance at this point. They have not figured earlier in the narrative, and are not implicated in the plot.
4. The function of the motif is affective—or supra-narrative, to use Flemming Andersen's term—rather than narrative (ANDERSEN 1985: 102-107). The story is over at this point. The women play no part in the plot. Their vain waiting serves rather as an ironic coda. In the two Scots ballads the dead man is the hero of the ballad, while in the "Song of Deborah" he is the villain, but the note of irony rings through all three occurrences of the motif.

This is the motif in all its effectiveness. What Blenkinsopp says of the "Song of Deborah" also fits the other two examples, *mutatis mutandis:* "This picture of the two women is powerfully drawn and would be difficult to equal in other ancient literatures" (BLENKINSOPP 1961: 78). Implicit in Blenkinsopp's statement, however, is the affirmation that he does not know of any other ancient examples of the motif. But how can this be? How can such an effective and indeed obvious motif have escaped the notice of so many poets? At first I assumed that such was surely not the case in medieval and modern oral tradition. This motif, I believed, must appear in ballads and epics from Norway to Russia, if not in traditions even more far afield. But my own search turned up only these three examples, so widely separated in time and language. And when I turned to friends much more knowledgeable about various oral traditions than I, and to on-line lists, they too could come up with no examples in Scandinavian or Hispanic ballads, in South Slavic epics, in Russian byliny, or anywhere but the in Bible and these two ballads. Nor, when I presented this paper at a Ballad Conference in Budapest in 2001, was any listener able to offer a suggestion. This is not to say that the motif exists only in these three examples. Doubtless there are other instances in world tradition. But the motif does seem to be quite rare, despite its effectiveness.

Widows who wait in vain for the return of their husbands are by no means rare, of course, whether in folk tradition or in literature. But generally these women are characters in the preceding story. They do not appear suddenly after the main action is completed. Andromache on the city walls, at the end of book 22 of the *Iliad,* is a good example. Andromache has been a secondary but still an important character in the epic. As soon as she reaches the wall, moreover, she sees her husband being dragged away behind Achilles' chariot. When she looks out from the city wall her waiting is over, though a major action of the plot is still to take place. A much closer

analogy in the *Iliad* occurs in book 3. There Helen, by the invitation of Priam, searches out the heroes of the Greek army spread out before the walls of Troy. After identifying Agamemnon, Odysseus, Ajax, and Idomeneus she says:

> "But there are two commanders I do not see,
> Castor the horse breaker and the boxer
> Polydeuces, my brothers, born of one mother.
> Either they didn't come here from lovely Lacedaemon,
> Or else they did come in their seagoing ships
> But avoid the company of the fighting men
> In horror of the shame and disgrace that are mine."

She looks in vain for her brothers, as the next lines tells us:

> "But they had long been held by the life-giving earth
> There in Lacedaemon, their ancestral land."
> (*Iliad* 3: 236-244; transl. Stanley Lombardo)

Here, as in the biblical and ballad examples, the woman is not central to the action of the particular work itself, the *Iliad,* which is concerned with the interactions of Agamemnon, Achilles, Patroclus, and Hector (though of course she, Helen, is an important character in the larger story or set of stories of which the *Iliad* narrates only a small part). Apparently she is brought on stage, as it were, principally to achieve an ironic emotional effect. The scene, however, occurs early in the epic, and the ironic death of the Dioskouroi has occurred even before the action of the *Iliad* begins. Because examples such as these do not realize the essential elements of the motif, they must be passed over.

The field of folklore, however, is interdisciplinary. Consequently, while a search in one direction may turn up no leads, a search in quite another direction may prove successful. In the field of vernacular architecture I found an unexpected occurrence of this very motif. In the northeast part of the United States, especially in seaport towns, some houses dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are equipped with a railinged walkway along the peak of the roof (see Figs 1 and 2). This walkway provides a fine vantage point for looking long distances. A woman whose husband (or brother, or son) had gone to sea on a merchant or whaling ship could climb up there to watch for the return of his ship. But whaling and trading by sea are risky endeavors, and many a woman waiting for her husband was already a widow and did not know it. Consequently these rooftop walkways are commonly called widows' walks.

Despite the popular name, these walkways may not have been designed originally to serve as lookout posts. More probably they were fashioned to give quick access to the chimneys so that in case of chimney fire somebody could easily lean out from the walkway and dump sand down the flue to smother the dangerous blaze. Whatever the original intended purpose of the walkways, however, doubtless more

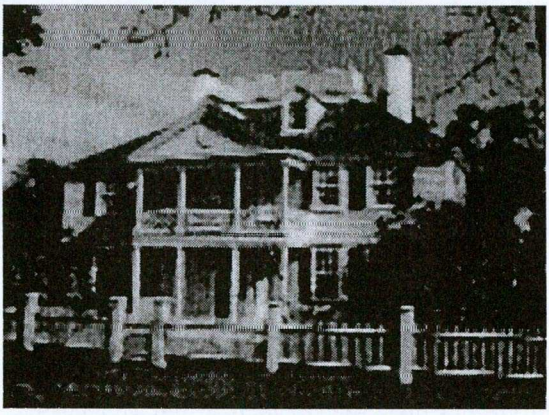

Fig. 1. The Julia Wood House, 1790, Falmouth, Massachusetts. Photo, courtesy of the Falmouth Historical Society

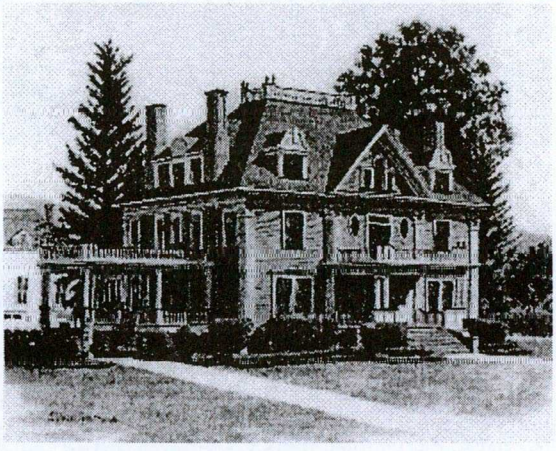

Fig. 2. The Julia Wood House, 1790, Falmouth, Massachusetts. From a drawing by Meredith A. Scott, courtesy of the Falmouth Historical Society

than one seaman's wife climbed up to have a better view out to sea. And tourists will not give up calling them *widows' walks*.

It seems logical to ask how an architectural feature can itself, whatever its original or adapted use, realize a motif. It does so through the nexus of associations that is conjured up mentally by the traditional term *widow's walk.* The Martha's Vineyard *Best Read Guide* calls the tourist's designation a romantic myth. Myth or not, it is certainly an element of the popular imagination, a small iconic motif in the American folk worldview. We ethnographers and folklorists are not so accustomed to speaking of mentifacts as of language, music, customs, and artifacts. Nevertheless, we do write of prejudices, beliefs and belief systems, and concepts of ethnicity and

nation. In *Immanent Art* John Miles Foley reminds us that we must do better. In writing of oral-derived literature, for example, we must attend to the whole nexus of associations, connotations, and stories that inhere immanently in the traditional elements used to tell the story. The epithet *swift-footed,* for example, applied to Achilleus even in his night scene with Priam over Hector's dead body, is "a traditionally sanctioned method of invoking a mythic figure more complex than his participation in any one situation.... It is Achilleus's identity in its magnificent entirety—not just that part of it that harmonizes with the situation in which it happens to be embedded—that is encoded in this cognitive category" (FOLEY 1991: 142–143). Foley calls this process "metonymic referentiality" (142). The folklorist must attend to both aspects: the physically perceptible element which serves a metonymic function (e.g. *swift-footed*) and the cognitive nexus of associations, the mentifact, for which the element serves as a metonym. We have already attended to metonymic referentiality once in this essay, in the section where we discussed the supranarrative function of the motif of bereft ladies in the two ballads and the biblical song. At the moment, however, we are not discussing oral-derived literature but vernacular architecture. The rooftop walkway and the attendant designation *widow's walk* are perceptible. But we must not limit ourselves to a practical functionalist interpretation of these perceptible constructs—to discussing access to chimneys and lamenting romantic misnomers. Rather, we must go on to consider their metonymic function, and ask to what they refer. The answer is that they refer to a cognitive construct, a nexus of associations that, in this case, includes all the elements of the motif of the bereft ladies:

1. A central figure has died: the dead husband of the widow is almost always imagined as a sea captain.
2. The widow is watching—and from on high—for his return.
3. The woman has been left behind because she is not implicated in the business of commerce or whaling that is the story of the voyage. And she remains in her lofty position even after story has reached its unhappy end.
4. Finally, the motif is purely one of pathos and irony—a final comment on the vanity or futility of the whole business of commerce, and especially of whaling. The story of each voyage had played itself out, and still the ladies stood waiting. Moreover, the era of sail is now long over. Of that great and heroic period of U. S. history all that remains for our contemplation is a handful of fine houses built by long-dead sea captains for their long-dead wives, complete with widows' walks atop the roofs.

As we look up at those railinged walkways, whatever their original purpose may have been, we experience nostalgia for a bygone time, pity for the bereft, and a sense of the irony of fate. These elements are clearly imminent in the term *widow's walk.* But arguably they are also imminent in the architectural feature itself to which the term refers back, at least as now perceived. They are a crucial part of the metonymic referentiality of widows' walks.

Cruising the Internet for evidence of how the widow's walk has become a me-

tonymic referent in the popular imagination, I found a number of items. I found, for instance, Horton House, built in the late 1800s and recently converted to a bed and breakfast (see Fig. 2). The original builders nostalgically chose to build in inland western Pennsylvania a house in eighteenth-century New England style, and topped their house with a widow's walk that is not functional for either of its supposed practical purposes: it is too far from the chimneys to enable one to reach over with a bucket of sand to douse a fire, and it is too far from the sea, by many hundreds of miles, to enable one to look out for approaching ships. I would argue, however, that the widow's walk is functional in the metonymic sense, completing this house, which metonymically summons up the early New England heritage, with an ornament which metonymically summons up the whole sad but heroic story of shipping and whaling upon which New England prosperity was built. The bed and breakfast that now occupies this house appeals to this nexus of associations in the popular imagination by featuring the widow's walk in its advertisement as one of the house's attractive features (HORTON HOUSE BED AND BREAKFAST 2001: WWW).

Cruising further on the Internet I came upon the poem, "The Molly Bee" by Bob Jackson of Bozeman, Montana. This poem describes a ghost ship:

> She's out of Boston town it is the whaler Molly Bee.
> One hundred and sixty years ago she set sail.

But "[n]o one really knows the fate of the Molly Bee," now a phantom. The poem ends:

> There is an old legend on the docks of Boston town,
> that someday the Molly Bee and crew may sail home.
> If you look at the old houses late on a summer night,
> you see ghost[s] on the widows walks waiting all alone.
> (JACKSON 2001: WWW)

In this highly traditional, indeed ballad-like poem the vernacular poet has reached instinctively for the image of bereft women watching and waiting, in order to bring his piece to a close. In so doing he has actually used the motif in its fullness:

1. The main characters of the story, the crew of the Molly Bee, are now dead.
2. Women watch from a lofty station for their return.
3. These women are new characters, not implicated in the story of the loss of the ship.
4. The effect is ironic and affective, here plainly calculated to elicit that *frisson* characteristic of urban legend. The spondaic movement, low vowel assonance, and *w* alliteration of the last line only serve to heighten this effect.

Tourists in New England, proprietors in Western Pennsylvania, and a vernacular poet in Montana all attest to the hold of the motif of the bereft ladies upon the

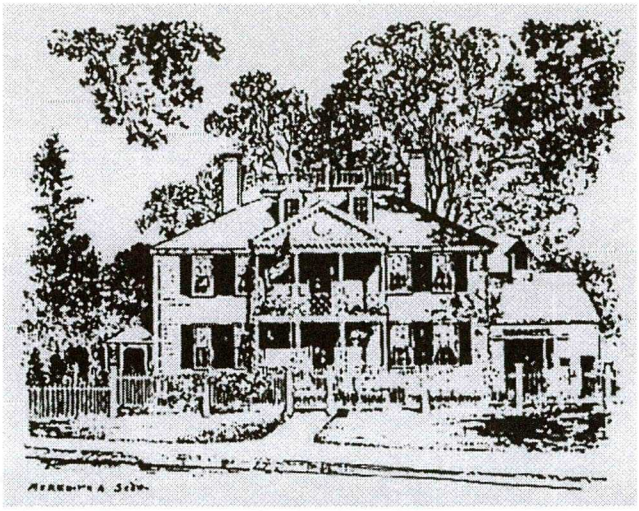

Fig. 3. The Horton House, late 1800s, Warren Pennsylvania. This late inland house, built in the style of colonial sea-captains' houses, demonstrates the grip on the American imagination of the icon of the widow's walk. The Bed and Breakfast now housed there advertizes the widow's walk as one of the features making it an attractive accommodation. From a charcoal drawing by S. Irish Smith, courtesy of The Horton House and the Scalise family

popular imagination of their nation. And two Scots ballads and one biblical song attest to its hold upon the popular imagination across national borders and over centuries. The motif may be rare, but it is also haunting.

So far as I know, only one person has written previously about the motif of the bereft ladies. Edward D. Ives, in a book-length study of the ballad "The Bonny Earl of Murray," compares and contrasts the motif as it is found in that ballad and in "Sir Patrick Spens" with the formula that Flemming Andersen calls "She lookit over her father's castle wa'" (ANDERSEN 1985: 138–147). He points out that the Andersen formula usually occurs early in the song, in most cases functioning to presage tragedy. The present motif, however, functions to "comment on the death that has been" (IVES 1997: 94). What Ives says to conclude his discussion of the motif might almost be applied to all the occurrences of it that we have seen:

> Looking from the quiet of the castle wall to the violence beyond—Queen, wife, mother, any one or all three, it doesn't matter—a woman waits, as women have always waited. It is a perfect ending to a fine song. As I said before, our maker played it right.

Almost, but not quite. In the "Song of Deborah" two women wait, but two more have chosen instead to take up arms against impending threats, and by opposing end them. Deborah and Jael refuse to be women bereft.

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INCEST AND THE TRADITIONAL BALLAD

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Abstract: The Pan-Hispanic oral ballad tradition provides us with precious examples of how traditional narratives – *romances* – many with roots in medieval times, continue to provide the communities where they are remembered with relevant commentaries on social issues.

Amongst the *romances* most frequently collected from the modern oral tradition, both in the Iberian Peninsula and the Latin American countries, the *romance* of *Delgadina* offers us a testimony of how a recurring social problem such as incest is dealt with according to the particular view points of the communities where this and other ballads serve as a vehicle for the transmission of values.

In this paper I discuss the various solutions proposed by *Delgadina* and other traditional ballads to this recurring social problem.

Keywords: Pan-Hispanic ballad tradition, incest

Throughout the many centuries of supremacy of the written word over non-written communication, orally transmitted texts have been used by mostly marginal social groups to convey knowledge and values.

It is evident that the number of communities that rely on the oral communication of texts is constantly diminishing, as individuals, and groups of individuals, (related or not), migrate from rural to urban centers that are at times distant from their places of origin not only geographically but culturally as well.

This world-wide phenomenon, however, is countered by the need that many migrants have to reassert and strengthen their cultural identity as a means of surviving within alien and often hostile environments. As a result, in our post-modern XXI century, we are witnessing the re-evaluation of practices such as the singing of ballads, and the oral transmission of legends, stories and myths, that are considered a part of an individual's cultural heritage.

The Spanish ballad tradition, that flourished in the XV, XVI and XVII centuries, has survived to the present day not only in the Spanish Peninsula, but in many other regions of the world where Hispanic peoples have settled, because they went there as conquerors, settlers or refugees – three categories that include the Jews who were expelled from Spain in the XV century and settled in areas around the Mediterranean and Eastern Europe, the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors and settlers that went to the New World, and the myriads of immigrants that have settled in every corner of the American continent since then.

It is important to insist on the fact that in spite of the outstanding editorial success that the Spanish ballad tradition, the *Romancero*, enjoyed from the XV to the

XVII centuries, the texts had, and continue to have, an oral tradition. Oral transmission has not only kept alive the *Romancero* tradition, it has given these texts the capacity to adapt to their changing environment. Thus, in spite of an astonishing lexemic continuity, *romances* now being sung within the vast expanse of the Pan-Hispanic world, are not fixed texts, they are not textual "relics" sung or recited as magic formulas. Instead, they are open, dynamic structures that have adapted themselves to the communication needs of those who remember them.

The openness of *romances* that results from their being "stored" in the memory of those who transmit them orally, rather than fixed as written texts, has allowed their adjustment to changing cultural realities and needs.

In this paper I discuss how different communities have transmitted from generation to generation their concern with incest, by means of narratives – *romances* – that put into play this age-old drama, and how they have adapted them so as to reflect their particular views on the problem.

Amongst the various *romances* that deal with the subject of incest, *Delgadina*[1] is one of the most frequently collected from the modern oral tradition, both within the Iberian Peninsula and the Latin American countries.

Delgadina tells the story of a young woman who resists her father's incestuous advances. For this, she is locked up and denied anything to drink while she is fed only salty foods.[2]

A constant element of the hundreds of texts that have been collected from the modern oral tradition is the characterization of the father as a king, as the absolute ruler of his family, an identity that has been retained even in countries where there is no royalty, while the victim is characterized as the youngest, albeit the weakest of three daughters.

Given that power is at the center of the ballad's discussion of incest, the identification of the father as king is important and fully functional in the narrative.

Un rey tenía tres hijas, todas tres como la plata,
y la más chiquita de ellas Delgadina se llamaba.

(A king had three daughters / all three as fine as silver // and the youngest of the three / was called Delgadina).

The arousal of the father's desire is presented in the ballad as a "natural" response to the young girl's beauty:

Delgadinha, Delgadinha, Delgadinha bem delgada,
de tao linda que era o seu pai a namorava.

[1] See Manuel Gutiérrez Esteve's important study on *Delgadina* and other ballads that deal with incest GUTIÉRREZ ESTEVE 1978: 551–579.

[2] Besides the hundreds of texts collected in Spain, Portugal and several Sephardic communities, there are more than 130 versions registered in countries such as Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico and Venezuela.

(Delgadina, Delgadina / very slim, Delgadina // she was so beautiful / that her father courted her).

Opportunity, the fact that they both live within the same household and share activities also presents the situation as inevitable. The girl's beauty is before her father's eyes at all times: when they take their meals or go to church, or even when she just moves around the home:

Un día estando a la mesa, su padre la remiraba,
– ¿Qué me mira, usted, mi padre, qué me mira usté a la cara?
– Qué te tengo de mirar, tú has de ser mi enamorada.

(One day as they are at table / her father stared at her // What are you looking at, father / What do you see in my face? // What should I be seeing / you are to become my mistress).
Or:

Al salir de la iglesia su padre la enamoraba:
– Delgadina, hija mía, yo te quiero para dama.

(As they come out of church / her father courted her: // – Delgadina, my daughter / I want you as my lady).
Or:

Un día estaba paseando del corredor a la sala,
el rey le dijo, – Hija mía, tú has de ser mi enamorada.

(One day as she walked / from the hall to the living room // the king told her: – My daughter / you are to become my mistress).

In the Mexican, as well as in other Latin American traditions, however, Delgadina appears as an active, though somewhat unwitting, participant in her father's infatuation, as she not only displays her beauty, she enhances it:

Delgadina se paseaba de la sala a la cocina,
con su vestido de seda que en su pecho le ilumina.
De su cuarto a la cocina Delgadina se paseaba
con su corpiño plateado que en el pecho brillaba.
La dice un día su padre: – Tú has de ser mi enamorada.

(Delgadina walked around / from the living room to the kitchen // with a silk dress / that illuminates her breast. // From her room to the kitchen / Delgadina would walk // with her silvery bodice / that shines on her breast // Her father tells her: / – You are to become my mistress).

This showing off of her beauty, and the provocation it implies, can be made more explicit by simple changes in the description of her clothes. If appearing in a suggestive silk dress is bad, parading around in a transparent dress is worse:

Delgadina se paseaba de la sala a la cocina,
con vestido transparente que su cuerpo lo ilumina.

(Delgadina walked about / from the living room to the kitchen // with a transparent dress / that brings light to her body).

The father's "natural" falling for his daughter's beauty, whether it was induced or not, puts the burden of guilt on her.

This conception of who is to blame informs the rest of the narrative. When Delgadina, locked up and desperate for a drink of water begs her sisters' aid, they not only refuse to help her, they blame her for what has happened: it is her obligation to yield to her father's wishes,

– Hermanas, si son mis hermanas, dénme un poquito de agua,
que el corazón me lo pide y el alma me lo llama,
– Quítate de ahí, Delgadina, Delgadina, falsa y mala,
que no quisiste hacer lo que tu padre mandaba.

(Sisters, if you are my sisters, / give me some water, // my heart needs it / and my soul claims it. // – Get away, Delgadina, / false and evil Delgadina // who did not want to do/ what her father ordered).

Her actions, and not the father's, have brought shame to the household:

– Quítate de ahí, Delgadina, quítate de ahí, perra mala,
que por tu cara tan linda mi madre está mal casada.

(– Get away, Delgadina / get away, you evil bitch // because of your pretty face / my mother is not a proper wife).

This peculiar conception of a family's honor is also expressed by the mother who sees herself, rather than her daughter, as wronged:

– Madrecita de mi vida, madrecita de mi alma,
por Dios te pido y te ruego me alcancéis un jarro de agua.
– Quítate de ahí, Delgadina, quítate, perra malvada,
que por ti estoy yo aquí siete años mal casada.

(– Mother, beloved mother, / mother of my soul, // in God's name I beg you / give me a jug of water. // – Get away, Delgadina, / get away you evil bitch // because of you here I am / seven years a wronged wife).

Both in the Spanish and Latin American traditions, however, there are instances of a more just appreciation of the situation. In those texts, the explanation for the sisters' as well as the mother's reaction is weakness. All the women of the family are equally powerless before a father's abuse.

– Mamacita, si es mi madre, déme una poquita de agua,
que el corazón me lo pide y el alma me lo llama,
– Delgadina, hija querida, no te puedo dar el agua,
que si tu padre me ve, me mata a puñaladas.

(– Mother, if you are my mother / give me a drink of water, // my heart needs it / and my soul claims it // – Delgadina, my dear daughter / I cannot give you water // if your father were to see me / he would kill me with a dagger).

If, as has been proved, women are the main transmitters of ballads, and thus the main re-creators of a *romance* like *Delgadina,* where textual continuity has perpetuated a tale of injustice towards a young woman, what kind of a solution to the problem of incest has been suggested in the various traditions?

The most prevalent ending to the *romance*, has Delgadina begging the father for a drink of water, begging for mercy. Since the father interprets this as an acceptance of his advances, he orders his servants to free her, but when they arrive they find her dying or dead.

Todos llegan a un tiempo Delgadina ya expiraba;
los ángeles la tenían, la Virgen la amortajaba
y a los pies de Delgadina manaba una fuente clara.

(They all arrive at once / Delgadina is expiring // the angels are holding her / and the Virgin is shrouding her // and at Delgadina's feet / a clear fountain is flowing).
Or:

Unos con vaso de oro y otros con vaso de plata.
Y al tomar vaso que traen Delgadina no quiso agua.
– Delgadina, sube al cielo, porque la Virgen te llama,
pa' que subas a la gloria, que ya la tienes ganada.

(Some with golden cups / others with silver cups // when she holds the cups they bring / Delgadina does not take a drink. // – Delgadina, rise to heaven, / because the Virgin is calling you, // so that you can rise to heaven, / which you have already deserved).

No one can defeat absolute power, and that is the kind of power a father yields towards the women of this family. Since there is no one who can counter the father's power, the ballad proposes death as the only solution to incest. The victim's only way out is death.

Judgement as to the guilt or innocence of a young woman who provokes her father's infatuation can vary according to the cultural environment where the *romance* is sung, but there is no solution offered for the problem itself.

There is, however, a moral retribution proposed: some versions of the ballad include the indication that God has taken care of the father's punishment as well as of the young woman's final reward:

La cama de Delgadina, de ángeles rodeada
y la cama de su padre, de demonios atestada.

(Delgadina's bed / is surrounded by angels // and the father's bed / is crawling with demons).

Or:

Delgadina está en el cielo dándole cuenta al Creador
y su padre en los abismos con el demonio mayor.

(Delgadina has gone to heaven / where she is before her Creator // and her father has gone to hell / with the major devil).

In addition, there can also be a final judgment on the mother's and sisters' actions:

La cama de Delgadina de ángeles está rodeada
y la cama de su madre de culebras enroscadas,
y la cama de su padre de demonios apestada.

(Delgadina's bed / is surrounded by angels // her mother's bed / is surrounded by curled snakes // her father's bed/ is infested with demons).
Or:

Su madre en el purgatorio, su padre arde en grandes llamas
y Delgadina en el cielo en silla de oro sentada.

(Her mother has gone to Purgatory / her father is burning in a huge fire // Delgadina is in heaven / sitting on a golden chair).

Interestingly, *Delgadina* has become a popular children's song in several Latin American traditions. Young girls dance and sing the *romance* in a chorus.

In contrast with the impossibility to offer a solution other than death to the father–daughter incest, another *romance* dealing with incest, this time with incest between brother and sister, *Tamar*, develops an interesting array of solutions.

The story told by *Tamar* is of biblical inspiration: Samuel II, 13–14, but, unlike the XVI century *romance*[3], the modern oral tradition has little to do with the biblical story's concern with Amnon's death at the hands of his avenging brother, Absalom, which resulted in the rise of Solomon, Amnon's younger brother, to the throne.

The *romance* centers on Tamar's rape by her brother when, at her father's request, she goes to her brother's room where he lies in bed pretending to be ill, though we know he is smitten with his sister's beauty.

It is the father himself who will deliver *Tamar* to his son:

El rey moro tenía un hijo, que Tranquilo se llamaba,
a la edad de quince años se enamoró de su hermana.
Viendo que no podía ser cayó enfermito en la cama.
Sube su padre a verle: – ¿Qué haces que estás en cama?
Me ha dado calenturilla que me está robando el alma.
– ¿Quieres que te mate un ave de esas que vuelan por casa?
– Padre, mátemela usted, que me la suba mi hermana.

[3] See ARMISTEAD and SILVERMAN 1974: 245–259.

(The moorish king had a son / who was called Tranquilino // when he was fifteen / he fell in love with his sister. // Seeing that it was impossible / he went to bed sick. // When his father goes to see him: /– What are you doing in bed? //– I have a little fever/ that is robbing me of my soul. // – Do you want me to kill for you a bird / like those who fly around the house? // – Father, you kill it, / but have my sister bring it to me //.

What is to happen is implied by the narrative; the "bird" that flies around the house, Tamar, will be delivered by the father as a succulent dish for his son's pleasure. A Cuban version has the young man insisting on the need for his sister to come alone to his bedroom, making his intentions quite clear:[4]

Altamara venga sola, venga sola y sin compaña,
con el ruido de la gente gran calentura se me arma.

(Let Altamara come alone, / let no one accompany her / with the noise people make / my fever rises).

After being brutally attacked by her brother, the young woman begs for her father's support, but in all but one of the two hundred versions collected from the modern oral tradition, the father's concern is for his son, and not for the victim:

– ¿Cómo queda mi hijo, cómo queda en la cama?
– El su hijo queda bueno, pero yo quedo deshonrada.
– Como mi hijo quede bueno, por tus enojos no hay nada.

(– How is my son, / how is he in bed? // – Your son is well, / but I have been dishonored. // As long as my son is well, / your annoyance is for naught).

As we stated, the tradition offers different solutions to this incestual rape. In Albacete and Zamora, for example, the father proposes that everything be kept quiet in two convenient ways: either Tamar can be put away in a convent:

– No llores mi Altamarita, no llores mi Altamarada,
que yo te meteré a monja, convento de Santa Clara.

(– Don't cry Altamarita, / don't cry, my Altamara // that I will put you in a convent / the convent of Santa Clara).

Or she can be quietly married off:

– Calla, calla, el Altamar, de ti no se sepa nada,
que en lo que tu padre vive estarás tú bien casada.

(– Be quiet, Altamar, / let no one hear anything from you, // that as long as your father is alive / you will be married off).

[4] See MARISCAL 1996: 82–83.

When marriage to the culprit, her own brother, is suggested as an alternative, discretion is obviously not enough. Nevertheless, the Pope's intervention can be secured:

– Calla, Tamariña, calla, que con él serás casada.
– ¿Cómo ha de ser eso, mi padre, siendo yo su propia hermana?
– Hay un Padre Santo en Roma que a todos purificaba.

(– Be quiet, Tamariña, / you will be married to him. // – How can that be, father, / if I am his own sister? // – There is a Holy Father in Rome,/ who can purify anything).

Yet another type of solution has been suggested by the Andalusian tradition: the birth of a child; a solution where the woman's natural instinct as a mother overrides the affront:

De los siete pa' los ocho los pañalitos bordaba,
de los ocho pa' los nueve las camisinas bordaba
con un letrero que dice: hijo de hermano y hermana.

(Between seven and eight / she embroiders diapers, // between eight and nine / she embroiders little shirts // with a sign that reads: / child of a brother and sister).

In every instance the solution proposed by the father is acceptable only in social terms, it has little to do with the suffering of a woman who has been raped. Even in the single instance where the father does show some concern for the wronged girl, his rendering of punishment has more to do with his duties as king, yet another social reason. If he were not to punish his guilty son, the kingdom would suffer:

– Posa 't en confesion, que promptament ets de cremar-ne;
que si el rei permetia allo, que fairen los vassalls!

(– Confess yourself, / as you are about to be killed // if the king were to allow it / what would the vassals do?).

Since the wronged woman does not accept any of these socially oriented solutions offered by her father, she is forced to appeal to higher forces, God or the Devil:

– El su hijo bueno queda ¡si el demonio lo llevara!
Aun la palabra no es dicha ya la casa está rodeada;
unos entran por la puerta otros entran por ventanas.

(– Your son is well / may the devil take him! // The word is not even said / the house is already surrounded; // some enter by the door / others enter by the windows).

Or she takes justice in her own hand by killing herself:

La niña pidió un puñal y en el pecho se lo clava.
– Que quiero morir con honra y no vivir deshonrada.

(The girl asked for a dagger / and stabs her breast. // – I want to die with honor / and not live dishonored).

The young woman's rejection of any solutions to being raped by her brother that subordinate her to social considerations reveals, in my opinion, a defiant feminine viewpoint which brings to light the active role of women in the creative process of oral traditions.

The women who transmit a narrative that deals with the problem of incest could not be indifferent to its solution, and their views on the subject have been incorporated into the *romance*'s narrative structure whenever it has been "culturally" possible.

In the face of father/daughter incest, where the power of a father is practically impossible to challenge, they have been unable to offer any suggestion besides divine intervention. In contrast, when dealing with brother/sister incest, the various traditions offer different solutions. This notwithstanding, the father's social-minded solutions are rejected by the wronged girl, and in those instances where death occurs, it is of her own doing.

Both traditional *romances*, *Delgadina* and *Tamar*, have adapted their narratives throughout time and space in order to offer culturally relevant solutions to the recurring social problem of incest. Through their rendering of these ballads, those who have kept them in their memories have been able to convey their social values.

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EPIC AND ETHIC IN BALLADS: THE "UNFAITHFUL WIFE" CASE

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Abstract: Although in AMZULESCU's "Catalogue of the Narrative Subjects and Variants" (1983) The *Unfaithful Wife* is rightly registered as a "family ballad", type 134 (291), with three sub-types, I will refer here to an epic or bravery song thematically belonging to the family ballad, but registered as a heroic epic song. The type 205 (286), *Ghiţă Cătănuţă*, knows hundreds of variants published in collections and magazines, or stored on tapes in the Archive of the "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore. Structural analysis of the poem led AMZULESCU (1981) to the conclusion that this is a heroic ballad, the main character of which is a brave man who fights his enemy and wins, punishing at last his young wife who did not help him in a crucial, provoked or unprovoked episode of the struggle. The inter-play of the cultural, archaic context and the social, performing context shows how the singers, in different cultural and emotional contexts, slightly but firmly moved the emphasis either on the ethic or the heroic meaning of the story. As the ballad is mainly sung by men, and the traditional occasions of performing it were the wedding party (feast) or men gatherings, most of the versions of the ballad Ghiţă Cătănuţă show a strongly male oriented attitude. The cruelty with which the young wife and her mother are punished stands, sometimes, against the moral values of the modern times.

Keywords: punishment in folk ballads, ballads in wedding, emotion of ballad hero

Although in AMZULESCU's "Catalogue of the Narrative Subjects and Variants" (1983), *The Unfaithful Wife* is correctly registered as a "family ballad", type 134 (291), with three sub-types, I will refer here to an epic or bravery song thematically belonging to the family ballad, but registered as a heroic epic song. The type 205 (286), *Ghiţă Cătănuţă*, knows hundreds of variants (precisely 347 versions) published in collections and magazines, or stored on tapes in the Archive of the "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore.

The structural analysis of the poem led Amzulescu to the conclusion that this is a heroic ballad, the main character of which is a brave man who fights his enemy and wins, punishing at last his young wife who did not help him in a crucial, provoked or unprovoked, episode of the struggle. Here is the summary of this type: "Wishing to visit his in-laws, Ghiţă (Stoian, Petrea etc.) asks his wife, Vidra (Vida, Neda, Savina etc.) to prepare knotted-bread and pretzels as ritual gifts (offerings) and start their journey through the deep forest. (The beginning differs sometimes: the couple walks in the mountains.) The husband asks his wife to sing, but she refuses, being afraid that her older suitors will hear her voice. He insists and she starts singing, her song bringing up the old suitor (pretendent). The two men initiate a fight. During the fight, either for testing his wife's fidelity, or just by haphazard, the husband's belt

loosens, and he asks his wife to help him. The woman answers that she prefers as husband the one who wins without her help. Embittered by this answer, the husband defeats his enemy, then cuts off his wife's head, putting it in his wallet. Once arrived at his mother-in-law's place, he asks her to prepare a good meal using his wife's meat. Understanding the unhappy faith of her daughter, the old woman curses on her for not having taken her advise and for having married out that who has become her butcher. In some variants, the son-in-law kills his wife's mother too" (AMZULESCU 1981: 161).

Quite a bloody story, isn't it! Love, death, pride, justice, cruelty, men and women – the husband–wife couple, parents and children – the mother–daughter couple, all these make type 205 (286) a complex story with deep roots in the ancient traditional mentality. In fact, the first collector of the ballad, poet Vasile Alecsandri, gives two rather different versions of the theme. In the former (no. VIII), bearing the name of the victorious man, *Păunaşul Codrilor,* the husband is defeated and killed by the suitor, who takes the young woman. The second (no. XXVII), *Vidra*, preserves in the title the name of the wife, instead of that of the husband, but matches the general *scenario* of the type. Some useful suggestions are to be found in Alecsandri's notes accompanying the texts published 135 years ago (ALECSANDRI [1866] 1973 I: 40–41; 126–130), from mythology, as he derives the name of the suitor, Păunaşul Codrilor, from the Greek god of forests, Pan, to the wedding traditions in which the ritual bread plays an important role.

Therefore, one can assume that the main motifs of the ballad are rooted in old forms of life, preserved as such by the poem itself. Using the so called *historical reconstruction method*, we can revive, up to a certain level, the *genetic* or *cultural context* ("context of culture", cf. B. Malinowski) that gave birth to this ballad.

Let's take a closer look to some of these motifs and try to find out where they have originated from. In most of the variants, the first episode presents a young couple making a trip to the wife's parents, most often to her mother. I'll let aside, for the moment, this detail, although it is a significant one, as we'll see later. The newly-weds' journey to the bride's home, on the first Sunday after the wedding, is a ritual act of consecration of the new couple, as man and wife, in front of the community. Not only that this journey must take place at a certain time, but some ritual food, especially knotted-bread and pretzels must be prepared on this occasion. I briefly note here that this aspect is strongly emphasized in a Bulgarian version of *Militza and Iskren*: "Militza, dear Militza, / Knead a white bread / Pour some yellow wine in the bottle / And let's go/To your mother, to your father / For, nine years since we married, / We haven't paid any visit to them" (A. DOZON, *Bălgarski narodni pesni / Chansons populaires bulgares*, 1875, in TEODORESCU [1885] 1982: 685; Cf. also FOCHI 1975: 169). It is true that this detail occurs in a relatively small number of the Romanian versions of the ballad, among which the oldest one, published by Alecsandri, for the first time in 1850 (ALECSANDRI [1866] 1973: 121), other two registered at the end of the 19th century (1896) (DENSUŞIANU 1975: 178, 181), and the third one, shorter and fragmentary, of the same period of time (TOCILESCU [1900] 1980 I: 376). All this can prove the ancientry of the motif, as it springs from an old,

traditional custom, evoked as such by several versions: "He comes from his father/And goes to his father-in-law" (TOCILESCU [1900] 1980 I: 378) or "By that hill, by that slope/ Ghiță Cătănuță passes / With his sweet / ... / They go to his in-laws" (TOCILESCU [1900] 1980 I: 369).

In the newer versions, the couple simply takes a walk or a leisure trip, over the mountains or through the woods, which means that singers didn't pay so much attention to the ritual circumstances of the voyage, but were more interested in enlarging the narrative setting. For, as we can see, the spouses are accompanied by seven or twelve fiddlers ('lăutari'), they eat and drink, make merry. Sometimes the husband is unhappy with the singers and asks his wife to sing a song, but most often he is requesting it without any specific reason. This is a crucial point of the plot, for this (the wife) refuses to do so, arguing that she has a loud (strong) voice that could be heard by her old suitors or by the local outlaws who could cause trouble: "...If I start singing, / The wells will get troubled, / The forests will tremble, / The outlaws will come out, / They will slay you / And will take me" (TOCILESCU [1900] 1980 I: 376), or, in other versions: "If I start singing, / The mountains will crash, / The orchards will tangle, / The waters will get troubled, / The forests will resound". The strange effects of this woman's voice were related to those of the brave men in the forests, involving thus the idea that Cătănuță's wife belonged, once, to that group, i.e. the outlaws group, the habits and the behaviors of which she learned and performed. Let's note that it was exclusively a group of men and the presence of women was strictly forbidden; when, however, they were admitted, they had to become 'men', to behave like them. Since she (the hero's wife) was taken from there, married, and reinstalled in the village, domestic, family life, she changed her status and had to obey new rules. "By marriage, she lost her old status. Recovered for the socialized domestic space, she was forbidden to sing outlaws' songs. Here there lies the destroying effect of her song: it was something done against the nature of things that will lead to demolishing the general harmony of nature." (COMAN 1980: 169) In fact, I think that here we encounter an example of the way in which "the epic laws" – not necessarily in Axel Olrik' s meaning – work. For, the woman's reluctance to sing on the road, in the forest, or in the mountains was a pure reflex of every woman of the Romanian traditional society to sing in a public place, outside her home. The *Bride's Song* of the wedding ceremonial warns the wife-to-be to sing her songs before getting married: "Sing, you, girls, your songs, / As long as you are like flowers, / For, after you get married, / You will not dare to sing, / In the house because of your mother-in-law, / In the yard because of your father-in-law, / On the road because of your dumb husband." These lines simply express a code of behavior of married women in the old traditional society. Or, the husband's request of singing was a challenge. He had to know, and he knew, that his wife could not sing under such conditions. However, he keeps asking her to do so. He is forcing her to break the rules, and she is not resisting his demands. Or, all this game enters the narrative schema of the ballad, raising the epic tension of the song. Actually, if she did not sing, we would not have the ballad at all! But the performers of the song, as poem-makers, moved the emphasis from the current and general rule (married women don't sing in public places, out-

side the house), to the special position of that woman who, before getting married, was with the outlaws, sometimes, as it is suggested, as the lover of the group's head. New actors enter the scene, and the plot gets new dimensions. Adrian Fochi draws a general conclusion from this situation, seeing in this a confirmation of Axel Olrik's so called "law of two to a scene" ('das Gesetz der szenischen Zweiheit' cf. Axel OLRIK, *Epic Laws of Folk Narrative* [1909] in DUNDES 1965: 129–140). The epic tension grows with this new character and the 'pair of functions' – in V. I. Propp terminology – "struggle/victory" appears, that made Al. I. Amzulescu include this subject in the heroic epic.

A sub-theme of the struggle motif appears, involving, once more, the woman who is not let to be a simple assistant to the fight, but is asked again by her husband to intervene in his favor and tie the belt that, by hazard or by intention, loosened. But she takes no one's part, saying that her man will be the one who wins. Adrian FOCHI (1985: 74) thinks that this ballad "reflects a fundamental psychological situation: the woman always makes the option for the stronger one, even if she has to encroach upon her marital faith." But this is just an assumption that should be proved. In any case, the wife's position opens a vivid debate about her moral standing: was she right or bad when not helping her husband? Ovidiu Bârlea thinks that two different positions can be seen in this ballad's many versions: one expressing the heroic standing of olden times, when a real man had never asked a woman for help, another one expressing a moral standing according to which a married woman must help her husband unconditionally, under any circumstances.

It seems to me that, as in some other cases, the poet Vasile Alecsandri, credited as the first collector and publisher of Romanian ballads (1852–53, and 1866), had a fine intuition when in his version named *Păunaşul Codrilor* (The Brave Man of the Forest) the victory is won by the one who kills the husband and takes the wife, as she herself predicted: "Anyone who wins / That one I will love (or I'll make love with him)". Unfortunately, we know very little about the occasion of singing, about the context of saying that song – singer, time, place, audience. Or, every version is a result of the so-called performative or performing or situational context, and all the factors mentioned before – singer, time, place, audience – leave their marks on the concrete text. Not to speak of the collector himself whose personal views, ideology, feelings etc. leave their imprints, in the process of textualization, on the text as such.

Little is also known about the performative context of the other type of variants, ethically oriented, in which the wife's attitude of not helping her husband is drastically punished. But, at a general level, the ballad or the olden times song was sung, in Romania and in South-Eastern Europe as well, up to modern times, at wedding parties. Some epic subjects have actually been attracted into the wedding repertory, being often requested and carefully listened to by the participants. A subject like this perfectly fitted the occasion and this explains why the ballad of *Ghiţă Cătănuţă* is/was so often sung at wedding parties, where it "offered a matrimonial lesson". "The circumstances of the erotic drama are very close to the wedding situation, for the two partners go to the in-laws, on their 'primary way', soon after their wedding. The bloody punishment of the opportunistic wife, ready to take the part of the stronger

one – writes Ovidiu BÂRLEA (1973: 85) – sounded as a severe warning for the newlyweds, especially because the guests at table started misogynic (women hater like) comments". We can give credit to Ovidiu Bârlea, who had a huge field experience, and, probably, although he doesn't mention this, he has encountered such situations, in which the listeners of the ballad, "started their misogynic comments".

Anyhow, a strong male-oriented attitude results from every variant of the ballad, and it is more obvious when we take a look at the bloody punishment reserved to the 'unfaithful wife'. With very few exceptions, she is beheaded: "The blade he sharpened, / And took her head off" (TOCILESCU [1900] 1980 I: 375); "Her head with the blade he cut off" (TOCILESCU: 373); "He pulled the sword out / And took his sweetie's head off " (TOCILESCU: 371); "Yathagan (Turkish sword) from scabbard pulled out / And nicely cut her head off" (DENSUŞIANU 1975: 181) etc. In a rather small number of variants she is stabbed in her chest: "He set the loving women next to the Pasha / And stabbed her in the chest" (BRĂILOIU 1932: 177). But death alone seems not to be enough, for the young and let's say unfaithful wife also suffers a mutilation. The winning, and let's say again, betrayed husband cuts off her chest or more explicitly her breasts and, once he arrives at his mother-in-law's place, he asks her to prepare a special meal using her daughter flash: "Here is your daughter! / You, mother, my mother / Do you still have some cabbage (sauerkraut) / To prepare it with the fat meat / Of your lovely daughter / Who had such a foolish mind" (TOCILESCU [1900] 1980 I: 373). In different variants, not only the breast is detached, but also a finger with the ring (the wedding ring) and the tress – both signs of femininity.

I will not enter into more details, but it must be added that, in the conclusions of a very insightful study of the history of beheading (*Histoire de la decapitation*), it is stated that, either as a political or a ritual act, beheading was reserved only to men: "we have to remember that neither women, nor girls are beheaded. As for young boys, they were decapitated especially when it was about to extinguish the king or royal line. It can be added also that the beheading is associated in a large majority of cases with war, and the war is done by men" (STAHL 1986: 188). The Romanian ballad, and some South-Eastern European versions of it contain an episode in which the main character's enemy – in many cases, the head of the outlaws – is, at the end of the fight, beheaded, that enters the general pattern of heroic behavior. And, if we take into account that the name of the hero is *Ghiță*, a hypocoristic of Gheorghe (George) with all its military meanings, and *Cătănuță*, a derivative of 'cătană', from Magyar *katona*, 'soldier', we can conclude that warlike conditions are fulfilled. As for the skull of the young wife, it is not taken as a trophy, but settled on the top of a hayrick (haycock), that entirely changes the meaning of this part of the poem. The soldier Cătănuță, who fights the outlaws or defends the border, is, in his private life, a peasant, or a small landlord who works his field and makes his hay.

Different layers of the ballad and a possible evolution of this was foreseen, long time ago, by Ovidiu Bârlea who deciphers two types: a heroic one and a novel-like one (BÂRLEA 1957).

The inter-play of the cultural, archaic context and the social, performing context

shows how singers, in different cultural and emotional contexts, slightly but firmly moved the emphasis either onto the ethic or onto the heroic meaning of the story. As the ballad is mainly sung by men, and the traditional occasions of performing it were the wedding parties (feasts) or men gatherings, most of the versions of the ballad *Ghiță Cătănuță* show a strongly male oriented attitude. Although the cruelty with which the young wife and her mother are punished stands, sometimes, against the moral values of modern times, the ballad was asked and sung up until recently for its emotional values and as a means to ensure, by force of example, the stability of the new family and its resistance against the widely spread evil forces.

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THE NOTION OF DESTINY IN EPIC SONGS AND BALLADS

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Abstract: The article analyses two Russian ballads in which the hero and plot are close to those of epic songs. Human destiny is a central notion of the ballads; its portrayal is compared to the way destiny is shown in rites and epic songs. The portrayal of time characteristic of the epic song (historic present) acquires new function in the ballad where circular time is replaced by the portrayal of linear, irreversible human fate.

Keywords: destiny, rite, archaic epic song, female and male heroes of ballads, archaic symbolism

The destiny of man is a complex and ambivalent notion. In ancient times it was believed that people inherit their destiny from their mother, parents or ancestors. The notion had been materialised by mythological thinking. Happy people are born in a "shirt" (*pileus naturalis*); the thread indicated that people were bound by ties to their tribe. The same intent was expressed when the hands of the bride and groom were tied by a kerchief in the church. A similar symbol is found in German children's songs: a silk ribbon (Windelband, Sidelband) brought from Engelland and Heeland.[1] According to Russians, the bride is "promised" (*suzhenaja*), marriage and death are "predestined".[2]

Besides the Russian expression "*sudjba*" (destiny) which stems from "*sud*" meaning court, there is also "*uchastj*", "*dolja*" which stem from the root meaning part and mean to be part of the common lot. According to popular thinking, the human lot is also influenced by unforeseen events.

The historical and ethnic experience of the different peoples brought different characteristics in the development of the notion of destiny. For example, the interpretation of destiny by two Slavonic people – Russians and Serbs – is very different. Russian people preserve more archaic and outmoded notions. In their songs they rather reproduce the feeling of pressure and the constraint of conventions in notions like sorrow (*gore*), evil (*obida*, *kruchina*) and misfortune (*nedolja*).[3]

At the same time the event of "encounter" (*sreha*) in the Serbian language had brought a new notion. This spread among Croats, Romanians, Ukrainians and Hun-

[1] VESELOVSKIJ 1889: XIII, 208–209.
[2] Ibidem: 201–202.
[3] Ibidem: 259.

garians and means luck.[4] Luck is often embodied in a clever, successful, beautiful girl who brings happiness to an unsuccessful lad. In traditional societies rites regulated the course of human life full of conflicts and socialised children from birth, led people from one age group to the other, sanctified their marriage, gave them the last honours and after their death rites initiated them as ancestors. "It is paradoxical," writes Albert BAJBURIN, "that rite which is a conventional phenomenon, has an unconditional pragmatic sense. Moreover, its basic function is to help ... absolute biological processes such as death or birth to become conventional categories. ... This makes it possible to play a sort of intellectual game with nature. It is important for people to be considered a worthy partner in this game."[5]

A similar area of play is opened in folklore, but here aesthetics play a dominant role. I have chosen the widespread popular song "Potuk Mihajlo Ivanovich". Its elements and topic originate from different periods and were probably shaped in different epic traditions in Northern Russia. In some songs Potuk kills the dragon, in others his wife, the wicked wizard, is transformed into a snake.[6] The song starts with an archaic hunt which becomes a marriage feast. The hero sets out for the coast at the request of Prince Vladimir to hunt for "geese, white swans and little grey ducks". He sees

> "... the white swan,
> Its feathers are all of gold,
> Its little head is bound with red gold
> and decorated with round pearls."[7]

This description belongs rather to a wedding song. Although the girl is not a bride (who in epic songs is always passive), but a wizard, she forces the hero to swear that if one of the married couple dies, the other will follow her or him alive to the grave. In this way the motif of treason and deceit lies like a burden on the motif of the wedding.[8]

At midnight in the tomb the hero does battle with all terrestrial snakes and with the big snake "burning him with flaming fire". But he burns candles and pulls a rope that ties him to the church bell. His wife is resurrected with the snake's blood which is contrary to epic traditions.[9] The protagonist has luck, he lives a long life. After his death his wife follows him alive to the tomb. There are other texts where Potuk, realising the wickedness of his wife, kills her.[10]

The course of the hero's fate and the way epic texts become plots are reminiscent of Greek epic poems and tragedies. According to Aleksej LOSEV, in Greek

[4] Ibidem: 213.
[5] BAJBURIN 1992: 18–19.
[6] NOVIKOV 2000: 63, 67.
[7] DANILOV 1977: 116.
[8] LOBODA 1904: 102.
[9] ASTAFJEVA 1993: 43.
[10] PUTILOV 1997: 443.

poetry "destiny works like an aesthetic category". "Antique destiny is objective reality with unknown laws. Their existence does not disturb the strong personality, on the contrary it provides him with an opportunity to act as a hero."[11]

The protagonists in epic songs are outstanding figures, while the heroes of ballads are ordinary people whose lives are changed by unexpected events. This is a special conventional phenomenon in the ballad: the destiny of its heroes is extraordinary, the circumstances are exceptional. The hero in Greek tragedy, convinced of the justness of his cause, pursues his path, committing more and more mistakes. His awakening to the realisation of his sins leads him to a catharsis: he either repents his sin or becomes irrevocably wicked.[12]

The protagonist of the ballad also has to face his lot. In ballads there is no prophesying as there is in epic songs and fairy tales. "Early topic forms did not contain prophesying."[13] Epic songs often begin with prohibition, which is the most important element of the epic movement. It is probably the prohibition on naming the totem that lies behind this.[14]

In Russian epics we find only the "promised" bride, the faithful wife and the hostile but active wife. In ballads a variety of female characters can be found. I have selected for analysis ballads recorded in the summer of 1843 in the Moscow region.

In one of them "a beautiful girl" has "discredited" her lover. He is accompanied to the scaffold by his wife and young children on his right and the "beautiful girl" on his left and his parents following behind. The girl tells of her betrayal: "I lived with my friend to my heart's content. I did not reveal my secrets. I discredited my lover, because of me he was whipped."[15] At the end her friend does not say anything; there is no farewell to the "beautiful girl", speaking only about the fate of his wife and children as orphans.

In another song the young man "beats a path" to a girl, ruins her reputation and abandons her. The girl plans to kill him with the help of her brothers. She will make a bedstead from his arms and legs, prepare a dish from his flesh, wine from his blood and a candle from his fat. She invites the young man's relatives and asks a riddle: "I am sitting on my lover, I am offering food together with him, I am looking upon my shining lover". The young man's sister understands the riddle and becomes very sad. Why didn't her brother listen to her, why did he go to a place where he was invited late at night, where people lived in drunkenness."[16]

So we see that in the centre there are eternal sentiments, conflicts, love, infidelity, jealousy, revenge. Do we find catharsis in these songs? I think that by stressing the dead-ends of human destinies, hopelessness and desperate situations, the ballad creates a sort of catharsis. The deceived girl builds a whole house out of the body of the young man she has killed, as a compensation for their common life. In ballads a

[11] LOSEV 1965: 539.
[12] PROPP 1976: 294–295.
[13] Ibidem: 263.
[14] ASTAFJEVA 1993: 180–181.
[15] KIREJEVSKIJ 1983: 80, No. 142.
[16] Ibidem: 80, No. 144.

whole cosmos is built around the tragic events. In another ballad, for example, the crying of a boy who has been driven away from his home is compared to a symbolic "white burning stove" from beneath which wells spring up. His sisters set out to find him.

"The oldest goes as an animal to the forest,
The middle as a star to heaven,
The youngest as a pike to the sea."[17]

In another song a young woman sets out to visit her mother and has to stop "in the dark forest". "Dark clouds come, with a storm, snow, frost and heavy rain." "The wide road is full of ruts, it is impassable." The woman sends a bird from the forest to her mother whom she cannot reach.

These symbolical pictures magnify human feelings and nature takes an active role in the plot. Human destiny in ballads is placed on a higher level, together with cosmic forces. Most scholars share the opinion that ballads were created later than epic songs. Nevertheless, the ballads seem to have been created also in ancient times, using archaic mythological symbols which are common to the wedding songs, rites and epics. The mythological symbols are still alive in ballads.

However, besides the archaic symbols, other features can also be seen in the ballads in the portrayal of human destiny and the world around man. These point to the difference between the ballad and epic songs. But in the centuries of the late Middle Ages the ballad was incorporated into the system of new genres, together with the verse chronicles and religious folk songs.

Rolf W. BREDNICH, an expert on German religious folk songs writes that the performance of religious songs "is characterised by festive gravity, in the same way as the ballads".[18]

A Russian folk tale researcher, Yelizar MELETINSKIJ considers that this is characteristic of the world of tales too, where "the individual is made cosmic in a certain sense; the life of the hero corresponds in many ways to numerous rites of passage, above all to initiation when the child passes through temporary ritual death and harsh trials to become a full member of the tribe". But, here too it is not "the awakening of individual consciousness that is involved, but rather the socialisation of the individual and even his merging into the tribe".[19]

The ballad generally deals with family and everyday conflicts and human relations. The person's individual traits also become visible in these conflicts, although the range of ballad heroes is not very wide. The unexpected event which determines human life is never explained, but a great variety of human responses are shown. In the same way as the epic, the ballad portrays events in the historic present tense. In epic songs this portrayal of events in a non-closed time leads to continuous repetitions, to eternity. The event in the ballad takes place in individual time and makes

[17] KIREJEVSKIJ 1977: t. 1, 186.
[18] BREDNICH 1969: 11.
[19] MELETINSKIJ 1994: 15.

the course of human fate irreversible. This individual, non-repeating and irreversible event is not placed in the circular time of the epic song but on the modern linear time plane. Human life is irreversible in the ballad.

We can see here the birth of the new historical consciousness, the emergence of a new view of human life, human destiny and historical events. "The religious folk songs, ballads and verse chronicles are different genres and are about something else: man's faith and man's life on earth. But they are all the product of the same age, when man pondered over the fate of the individual (in religious songs and ballads), over the significance of great events and the importance of individual actions (in the verse chronicles)."[20]

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THE ETHICAL NORMS IN MACEDONIAN FOLK BALLADS ABOUT HAIDUKS

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Abstract: In this contribution we will take a close look at the ethical norms in the ballads of the haiduk cycle, still alive in the field.

We will examine the most popular ballads' motives, looking at them at the different levels: the enemy's respect of courage, the mother's behaviour in the different situations, the respect of his mother and respect of the milk that she breastfed him etc.

On the basis of the ballad motive of the sinful haiduk conscious sin and the moral codex oblige even the mother to put an especially hard curse, on her child, including the maledictas. The departure from the moral norms is so great that even her love could not find any excuse for the sinful haiduk ('aramija'), especially when the sin is incest. The next motive is the motive of treason and the moral norms.

Keywords: Haiduk/aiduks (rebels), Macedonian folklore, sinful haiduk, punishment, malediction

1.

As phenomenon the haiduk movement is a folk movement of the resistance that appeared and developed in all Balkan nations, almost immediately after their subjugation by the strong Ottoman Empire, as a reaction to the Turks' violence on a national-religious and economic-social basis. It is understandable why people started to magnify the militant life of the haiduks and their feats, primarily through traditions of their heroic folk songs, and then, in various stages of the slavery, they created songs with epic, epic-lyric and purely lyric motives. Haiduk songs played a very significant role not only for the importance and development of Macedonian militant folk poetry, and they were a big factor in preserving the national and religious feelings of our nation; convincing people that struggle is the only way to freedom.

Macedonian haiduk folk songs, as we mentioned, occupy a central place in the Macedonian militant poetry. They represent the continuation of the heroic folk epic. They are expressed in epic, epic-lyric and lyric esthetic types. The main fabula of a great number of haiduk songs is especially suitable for ballad constructions. So, we can find the esthetic type of ballads in haiduk songs, as well.

In this haiduk song, we can find information about the morals and ethical attitudes of the personages: the fighter, the company, the environment, the family, etc. Therefore, we will pay more attention to some of the main ballad motives, through which ethic norms in the haiduk ballad can be represented.

2.

Each society, environment, in different periods, establishes its moral code containing general and special rules, and these rules depend on the environment, period, situation and personal attitudes of the individuals in the collective. Ethical norms, no matter how much they cover the general moral code of Macedonian patriarchal society, which is a main characteristic for folk songs, according to the period of their appearance, differ even from genre to genre.

Haiduk songs with ballad motives are really a part of this, especially militant Macedonian folk poetry, that represent a wealth of specific moral norms, the moral code of one period of fighting for freedom that lasted for over a century. We can notice here, on one hand, the moral code of the society as a whole, of certain groups or other segments of the society, that at a given moment are connected with the same interest of an individual. The situation, sometimes, causes deviations in the behavior of individuals and some collectives and then some incompatibility with the genergal moral code appears.

3.

We do not have the space or time here to deal with the ethic norms in different relations, although there are plenty of them, therefore we will mention only some of them that are most striking:

1. ENEMY BEHAVIOUR TOWARDS A DEAD OPPONENT

This respect for the braveness of a killed opponent is not new in the moral code of Macedonian folk ballads. It is common and well known in many nations, and it can be found in the ancient world as well. A typical example of this respect can be found in the motive of the decapitated haiduk's head, with many variants:

The motive of the decapitated haiduk's head will not be considered only as one part of the forms of heroic death of the hero (aid), but also in some other reference: enemy behaviour towards braveness, mother's behaviour in this situation, etc.

Further, we mentioned that there is one established attitude of military enemy towards the braveness of the opponent. This is a respect towards the killed one, his mother and the milk that he was nursed with, as a reflection on the cult of the milk as a primary food of the infant, the main relation between the mother and the son, the food that is infused directly from the life fluid into life fluid (mother's milk – blood), extraordinary human qualities. Concerning the mother–son relation here, besides the feeling of pride, the feeling of a mother's deep sorrow dominates (she is not losing an aid, a robber, a hero, but a son).

In these ballads, the haiduk's head is always bought to his mother and they always speak about the braveness of her son:[1]

Сите стомина паднаа;
Дури му руса глава зедовме,
Сам буљук-баша погина.[2]

2. RESPECT FOR THE HEROISM OF OTHERS

This is well illustrated in the ballads about haiduks' death. Some Macedonian variants of ballads, connected with the symbol of haiduks' movement – Haiduk Velko, are especially characteristic and interesting. The common feature of all three ballads is the reaction of the haiduk to his imminent death: the haiduk (the hero), lying sick and dying, does not want to leave his weapon to a weaker hero than him.

In the first song, noted down by the Miladinov brothers (Zbornik, p. 217), Kara Mustafa, when dying, leaves his weapon and horse, the symbols of his heroism, to Aiduk Velko:

- Кој ќе ти носит, море д'лгата пушка,
дегиди,болен Кара Мустафа?
- Нека ја носит тој Ајдут Велко,
зашто је боље јунак од мене.
- Кој ќе ти носит, море, острата сабја,
дегиди,болен Кара Мустафа?
- Нека ја носит тој Ајдут Велко,
зашто је боље јунак од мене.
- Кој ќе ти јава та врана коња,
дегиди,болен Кара Мустафа?
- Нека ја јава, море, тој Ајдут Велко,
зашто је боље јунак од мене.[3]

Nikola Kaufman, famous Bulgarian musicologist and folklorist, in 1967, in Pirin Macedonia, wrote down a variant[4] of the death of Macedonian duke Stojan, who leaves not only his weapon, but also his troops to be led by the "ideal of Haiduk Velko"[5]

- Кој ќе ти води верна дружина,
Стојане, македонски војводо?
- Нека ја води хајдут ми Велко,
дружино, благоверна дружино.

[1] Кузман А. Шапкарев, Избрани дела, приредил д-р Томе Саздов, "Мисла", Скопје, 1976: 355.

[2] All hundreds died; While we took his blond head. Bucuk pasa himself was killed.

[3] (Who will bring this long rifle, you sick Mustafa? / Let Haiduk Velko have that, because he is a greater hero than me. / Who will ride your horse, you sick Mustafa? / let Haiduk Velko ride it he is a greater hero than me).

[4] See: Вук Недељковиќ MF. IV, 7-8, Скопје, 1971: 94.

[5] Вук Недељковиќ ibid.

This attitude towards the heroic qualities of the other GREATER HERO is identical among the Macedonian Christian and Muslim Turkish or Albanian population.

3. WHEN REVIEWING THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS DEATH, SPECIAL ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE APPEARANCE OF SELF-SACRIFICE

Self-sacrifice is a new motive in haiduk folk poetry. When haiduks were really in a stalemate, in order to avoid fencing and cruel executions, they had recourse to self-sacrifice. As a short illustration of this, we will quote some lines about the death of the haiduk duke Gjorgija Lazot:[6]

Цевката в уста Ѓорѓи си ја тури,
ајде што ми тргна, Ѓорѓи, пушка мартинка,
Само се отепа, леле, не се предаде.[7]

It is obvious that "personal feeling of fate is a priority".[8] It is clear, that this is a defeat, but it is not a recognition of final defeat. Choosing this kind of death, and not allowing oneself to be captured, points to the absolute rejection of slavery.

4. THE MOTIVE OF DEATH – DIFFERENT APPROACHES

In haiduk ballads with the motive of death of the haiduk, many different approaches may be useful for reviewing different attitudes towards certain family relations and compliance with a common moral code in the environment.

Death is considered as a normal consequence of their own choice – armed renegades fighting against the enslavers. In some cases, we can find matrimonial symbolism, when death is considered as marriage with the fatherland, and in others, where the companions bring the wounded soldier, and he, while dying, leaves messages.

First of all, we can see the behaviour towards the soldier. It is obvious that the moral code of collectivities that are connected by fighting together obliges them not to abandon the wounded soldier, even when his end is so close. Second, through his message we can see the attitude of the environment towards certain members of the family. The strongest attachment is shown towards the mother, then, towards the sister, and then towards the wife:

[6] М. Цепенков, I, п. 30
[7] Gjorgi put the gun in his mouth, he shot himself, but he did not surrender.
[8] See above.

Јунак плаче за дружина,
Па си на коња говори:
Тргни, коњу, откини се,

Сестра ќе те препродати
За белило и црвило,
Љубне ќе те препродати,
Препродати за прикија. (мираз)

Ќе излезне стара маќа –
Сложи глава до земјата;
Она ќе те арно чува,
Често за син ќе те пита.[9]

In this song, we can find the projection of all inter-relations among companions, family relations of haiduks, gradation of the force of love according to the common norms of the community, depending on the environment and the time period: the father, the sister, the wife, the mother.

5. THE MOTIVE OF THE WIFE'S BETRAYAL

This motive can be found in these types of ballads, as well. However, in the epics, this motive is quite common. In haiduk songs, the wife usually betrays when finding herself in face of the difficult dilemma: to sacrifice the child or the husband. Usually, she chooses her son (often the only one). Mother's love is stronger than the love for the husband, than the awareness of his heroic role.

Concerning the torture and death of innocent vitims, we give the example of the song *Nikola the duke, betrayed by his bride* (Mihajlov, 389). Nikola was hidden by his closest family "into dark colourful boxes". The pursuers cut his father's arms, put out his brother's eyes, and cut off his sister's head. But nobody revealed where Nikola was, only his wife, so that they would not cut off her hair. This motive, also, represents a continuation of haiduk folk songs.[10]

The motive of the wife's betrayal can be found in these types of ballads. However, in the epic this motive is quite common. Sometimes it is not explained why the wife, and not the sister, the brother, father or the mother, betrays the hidden haiduk. From the lines in such songs, it can be concluded that, simply, in respect to the established folk opinion, the wife's love cannot be compared with the love of the

[9] A hero is crying for his companions, and he speaks to his horse: Move, you horse, go away. The sister will sell you for a beautiful thing, the loving woman will sell you for an endowment. But, the old mother will come out – Put your head towards the ground, she will keep you, and she will ask you about her son.

[10] Радост Иванова, Още веднъж за невярната Груйовица ..., Български фолклор, кн. 3. София, 1989.

mother, sister and other close kin. In these songs, the wife usually betrays the husband when she confronts the difficult dilemma: to sacrifice the child or the husband. Usually, she is obliged for her son (often the only one). Mother's love is stronger than the love for the husband, than the awareness of his heroic role. If we look into the problem through the prism of ethics, the conclusion that sister love is generally stronger, more stable and more loyal than the wife's love, can be treated as an established rule of opinion. Finally, the motive of unfaithful wife who betrayed the husband has been transferred from the heroic epic. The variants where the wife is confronted with blackmail: the husband or the son, point to the justification of different reaction of wife and sister (and other blood family).

The haiduk song *Markovica and the robbers* can be added to this possible explanation of the wife's betrayal, and to clarify it somehow, at least in cases when the wife is confronted with the dilemma: the husband or joint continuation of their child. Markovica, on a holy day, at Easter, went to communion. The atmosphere of this greatest Christian holiday is supplemented with the description of her white dress, freshly washed hair, and her not overwhelming, but elegant jewelry – two wreaths of small pearls. She was waylaid by robbers in the forest and took her son, her sun from the head and her small stars that she had around the neck:

а сретие арамии.
Е зедоа јасно сд'нце,
јасно сд'нце од главата,
зедоа месечина,
месечина од грлото.
е зедоа дробни звезди,
дробни звезди од небеси
е зедоа мошко дете.[11]

When we are talking about the moral code by which family relations are established, especially the relation between sister and brother, an interesting haiduk ballad with a motive – becoming a robber – is the song "Stojan and his siester Proja". It is a song about a sister who broke moral norms, and instead of being especially faithful, as strong as, possible, and giving stable support to her brother, she refuses to help him, in a situation where even persons not so close feel pity for him. The intolerable, difficult material condition of poor peasants in the period of collapse of the Ottoman Empire, where the haiduk movement was the strongest, is reflected in the poetry. So, in the song, Stojan is a typical representative of this poor class who cannot feed his nine children in this "expensive" period and time of "starvation".

Стојан има девет деца,
девет деца сите м'шки.

[11] Живая старина, период. Издание. Отд. Этнографии Императорского русскаго географ. Общества, вип. И., год. ИЦ, С. Петербуг, 1899,198/11.

Пара немат половница,
да си ранит девет деца,
девет деца сите м'шки.[12]

He begs his sister to help him, and she sends him on the "road" to meet the caravan of about one hundred mules, to measure "white wheat", and to give him the rest. He did that, but the sister, led by her changed psychology, refuses the help in a very perfid way:

– Ејди брате, бре Стојане!
Не престана едно зрно![13]

Confronted with the total impossibility of providing for his children survival, he decides on a desperate step – he gives a bag full of sand for them to eat, and they all die. After he buries all of them in one grave, there is no other way for him, except to "become a robber".

6. CONFLICT SITUATIONS BETWEEN THE MOTHER AND THE HAIDUK SON

The best way to see the confrontations of the common moral code of the environment and examples of breaking this moral code is to show conflict situations.

We will start with the weakest conflict between the mother and the son: the attitude towards the haiduk movement. While the son is dreaming about robbery as an ideal ("A young robber to become"), the mother has a negative attitude towards his revolt. We can even find a curse in these songs.

In the ballad from the Collection of P. Mihajlov (s. No. 371)[14] we can see the mother's curse. The conflict is between mother and son, and it reaches such great proportions that it culminates with a curse. The mother curses her son because, despite her resistance, the son decides to become a robber.

"Сури ти орли сватове,
црни гаврани попове,
танка топола невеста,
ж'та лисица кумица..."

A mother curse, according folks belief, is always fulfilled:

"Како го мајка проклела,
така го клетва стигнала..."[15]

[12] Stojan has nine children, nine children, all of them are boys. He hasn't any money to feed nine children, nine children, all of them boys.

[13] So my brother Stojan, there is no corn left!

[14] B'lgarski narodni pesni otot' Makedonie, Sofii, 1924.

[15] As his mother curses him, so the curse reached him ...

The distinction action/reaction is the following: the action represents the solution of the son to become a robber (including his announcement of this solution to his mother and not stepping back from it), and the reaction is the mother's curse, that is usual, and more developed and more difficult in some other ballad motives that deserve special attention – the motive of the sinful haiduk.

This is most often found in so-called robber's songs, where the intensiveness of the haiduk's robber's steps can be seen as the strongest aspect, when the haiduk movement represents a severe kind of robbery. We can even find different kinds of cannibalism:

Татко му го натерав,
сина на ражајн да пече.
Мајка му ја натерав,
печено месо да јаде.
(п. 53)

На татко му дадов това десно раче,
на мајка му дадов това клето срце, леле,
това клето срце.[16]

This ballad motive that we want to examine is a motive of a sinful haiduk. On the basis of this ballad, the motive is a sin, but not only as a stand, an omission that a person is distracted from God, but as a sinful action. It is about a deliberate sin, that, as we know, according to the Old Testament differs from undeliberate sin, when the doer can only place himself at God's mercy. Usually, in these ballads we can see a dialogue between the mother and the haiduk son (rarely the daughter), in which usually a sick haiduk talks about his sins (setting fire to churches full of people, murders of girls, massacres, and especially, forcing people to commit cannibalism – baking and eating the flesh of their own child, rarely brother, etc.) As we said, this is about severe, deliberately committed sins when the moral code obliges the mother to curse her own child, because the violation of the moral code is so great that even a mother's love cannot find justification. As usual, we can again find here the number nine. The sick man lies down for nine years, and his mother curses him to lie down nine more years, to splint nine sheets and nine pillows:

Стојане, море Стојане!
Девет години лежало,
девет постели скинало
и девет вруќи завивки
и девет меки перници.

[16] I made the father roast his son on a spit. I made the mother baked meat to eat (s. 53) ... I gave the father the right shoulder, I gave the mother the cursed heart.

Мајка му вели говори:
– Ако си, сину, лежало,
Оште ми толку да лежеш!
Стојане, море Стојане!

In our ballads of sinful haiduks we can find cannibals, as well as some examples of communion with blood and meet.

In the ballads where we find the sin the strongest impression is the confrontation of moral codes. The mother is linked to the moral code of the environment. Her ethical attitudes force her to curse: the robber created his own moral code in special conditions and in a special collective of like-minded men which causes an internal conflict in his last hour of life with the common moral code that was closest to him before he became a robber. Therefore, he may agree passively and calmly with any kind of punishment: sickness as a punishment for his sin, his mother's condemnation and curse.

Here, we can also mention incest, that is very often unintentional and depending on the closer relation. However, the common moral code in respect to incest, in the Macedonian nation, is very strict for blood relations, and as well as for non-blood relations, and violation of this code is a very grave sin.

In the Collection of Verkovic (s. no. 286)[17] we can find a developed form of a curse:[18]

– Да ти никне низ коските,
да ти никне росна трава,
низ уста ти изникната,
изникнала танка ела...

Incest committed on a fresh grave is in itself a condemnation and curse, and in this example, although the incest has been discovered by the mother at the moment of performing it: the bride from the grave is his daughter-in-law, and the girl is his sister. In this example, while he is kissing the girl, three drops of blood fall from his mouth.

[17] Makedonski narodni pesni. Sobrani od Stefan I. Verković. Redakcija i predgovor Kiril Penušliski, Skopje, 1961 (Prvo izdanie: Narodne pesme makedonskih Bugara, U Beogradu, 1860).

[18] Фанија Попова, Македонската народна балада, Наша книга, Скопје, 1990, 111.

SIN AND PUNISHMENT IN FOLK BALLADS

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Abstract: The value of virginity and the value of wealth are two types of human attitudes in Medieval Age, reflected in folk ballads. Both make conflicts among people and appear in folklore. 1. In the ballad the girl who offers her virginity to deliver the condemned to death is furious, when she realises that her offer was in vain. 2. In the ballad of the heartless mother, in case of danger, the mother leaves the children alone in the woods and runs away with her money.

The specific meaning of ballad text originates from textual context, explained by actions in tragic attitutde and by catharctic emotions at the end. Moral issues in ballads are close to the Christian rules, they are understandable in cultural, historical and textual contexts. In ballads the lonely persons stand in the focus of action and the hero/heroine are responsible for their own sin. By strong passion a hero can cause sin. The ethical norms of society are against those who are not obedient.

Keywords: moral in folk ballads, emotion in ballads, ethics and ballads

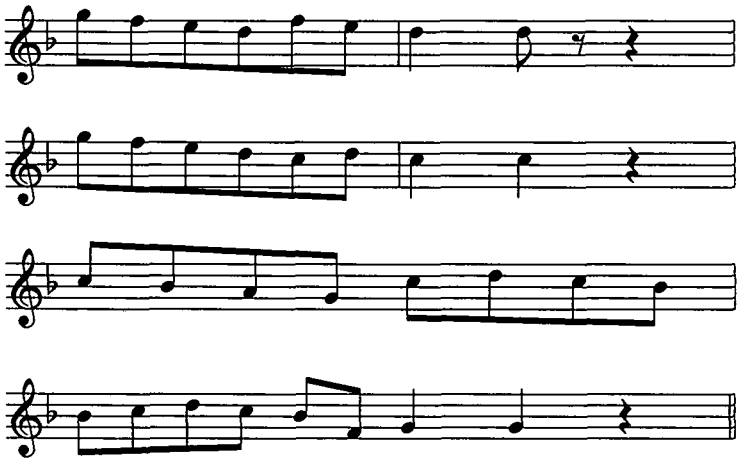
Folk ballads are highly varied and it is difficult to make generalisations, but to really get to know the genre we need to analyse concrete examples from a number of angles. One of the themes of this Conference, *Ethics and Moral Issues*, offers a new perspective for this. I would like to discuss the moral attitude that can be found in ballads, their portrayal of sin and punishment and its representation independently of time. (BUCHAN 1972: 207).

A considerable part of the ballads recount individual tragedies which seemingly arise from the behaviour of the individual and from conflict with the expectations of the social environment. Conflict can arise between parent and child, between mother and daughter, between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law, between lovers and mother-in-law (BOWRA 1967: 321). Many more examples could be given, but it is only at first sight that these appear to be conflicts between the persons involved: in reality they represent two different forms of social behaviour (BURLASOVA 1998). There is human behaviour behind the conflicts, but the general trends can be perceived and interpreted through the concrete examples. At a given time society accepts only one of the two different mentalities and rejects the other. This is why the ballads are clear and understandable. Through the action someone committed a sin and the consequence of sin is punishment (THOMSON 1962: 129).

I would like to illustrate the relativity of the sin and the objectivity of the punishment through two specific examples. In this connection it should be noted that the sin can only be regarded as sin in a certain context; seen from another angle the same deed is not a sin but part of the socially accepted consensus. The two examples selected express general human emotions and formulate values despite the fact that

the specific subject of the ballad always applies to a particular event and seemingly occurs in historical time. One example involves the sacrifice of virginity and the other focuses on the obligation imposed with the burden of motherhood.

The first concrete example is a Hungarian ballad known throughout the country, near to one thousand variants were noticed (VARGYAS 1983: II. 354). The title of ballad is: The sister of the man condemned to death.



1. László Fehér stole a horse
   At the foot of the Black-hill.
   His whip cracked so loud
   That its sound was heard by the town Gönc.

2. He was taken to merry town Eger
   He was thrown into the jail of merry Eger.
   Anna Fehér got the news
   About her brother having been taken prisoner.

3. At once Anna Fehér went
   To the rail of the jail,
   Brother, my brother, László Fehér,
   Are you alive or are you dead?
   I am neither alive nor dead,
   I am always thinking of you.

4. Brother, my brother, László Fehér,
   Who is the judge here,
   Miklós Török is the judge here,
   And he is a man worthy of the gallows!

5. Then she went to the judge,
Right to the desk of the judge.
Judge, judge, honourable judge,
Pray, set free my brother.
I shall measure gold by the bowl,
And silver coins by the bushel.

6. I do not want your bowl of gold,
Nor your bushel of silver coins.
Spend a night in bed with me
And I shall let him free in a month.

7. Anna Fehér did not listen to him any longer,
She ran down to the door of the cell.
Brother, my brother, László Fehér
The judge said:
If I spend a night in bed with him
You will be let free in a month.

8. László Fehér replied:
Don't you spend a night with him in bed!
He will tale your maidenhood,
Yet he will have your brother killed.

9. Anna Fehér did not listen to him any longer,
She spent a night with him in bed.
At a time around midnight
She heard loud noise of something rattling in the courtyard.

10. Judge, judge, honourable judge,
What's that rattling in the courtyard?
They are taking my horse to drink at the well,
The bit is rattling in its mouth.

11. Anna Fehér did not listen to him any longer,
She ran down to the door of the cell.
Brother, my brother, László Fehér,
Are you alive or are you dead?

12. The jailer spoke up and said:
Don't look for your brother in this place,
Sooner you'll find him at the edge of the wood, in the plain meadow,
On top of the gallows-tree.

13. Judge, judge, you false and faithless judge,
May the righteous Lord be heavy on you!
You have robbed me of my maidenhood,
Yet you had my brother killed!

14. May your washing water turn into blood,
May your towel burst into flames,
May the Lord deny you His grace,
May the Lord deny you His grace!

The theme is found from the 16th century (1578 in Hungarian text) to the present: a woman in a difficult situation submits to the will of a violent man (ZOLNAI 1917: 405). The Hungarian ballad has three actors in general, one is the outlaw who has been imprisoned for stealing a horse and his sister undertakes to free him. The third is the cruel judge, the person who has imprisoned him, the representative of the "authorities", declares that he will not release him for money but will let him go free in return for the girl's virginity. The girl trusts the promise and sacrifices her innocence. On the very night this happens her brother is executed. In her anger she curses the man who broke his promise.

The action is simple and has many international parallels. In the different variants the woman is the lover of the condemned man, or his wife, or even a stranger. I shall not deal with these questions as much philological research has been devoted to their comparison. What I would like to stress is that behind the words we can always feel the social significance of virginity which is equivalent to moral purity, innocence, and marital fidelity, but the expression of these values is not given sufficient space, they are expressed only indirectly. The Hungarian ballad mentions only three actors. Everyone is guilty and everyone is punished:

– The horse thief is hanged.
– The girl voluntarily loses her carefully guarded treasure, her virginity, but in vain.
– The third person representing the authorities, who kills his rival, and defiles the girl is cursed with an illness lasting all his life.

The three actors represent three different moral worlds and their aims differ but when their paths cross *it causes conflict and leads to tragedy* (KRÍZA 1991: 37).

The representation of virginity as a value is an accepted fact of late mediaeval and early modern society. For women the status of marriage was linked to virginity. Society condemned those who broke the written rule. Many expressions in linguistic use refer to the moral judgement of society. It is said, for example in a proverb: someone who is no longer a virgin has "lost her maidenhood". A well known mediaeval custom was the "ius primae noctis". It meant: the serf girls had to spend the first night of their marriage with the landowner or lord. Another mediaeval legal custom related to executions was that an offer of marriage from a virgin could obtain

the release of someone condemned to death. I will not list any more examples, except to add that in bourgeois society among the symbols of marriage, only virgins were entitled to the flower or wreath symbolising clearness and innocence.

The different societies took virginity very strictly in different ways and there were considerable differences between the social strata. The ballad is an extreme example. The surprising choice of theme achieved the effect which evoked the desired response or catharsis.

According to the Hungarian ballad, a horse thief can be ransomed by sacrificing virginity. Who makes the offer and under what circumstances are no doubt of great importance. In this way the woman's social status and the relationship between the thief and the woman influence the deed and the relationship with the man symbolising social justice.

This very transparent, simple ballad came to acquire symbolical significance in the years before the change of the communist regime, precisely because of its moral message. The virginity is acceptable in symbolic meaning. As a musical play composed in 1986 before political changing in socialist countries had the title of Fehér Anna, based wholly on folklore elements, it reinterpreted and updated the well known subject containing a mediaeval story. The representatives of the authorities capture a man who has been forced to steal out of need and imprison him to gain advantage for themselves. The starting point simultaneously expresses the social inequality which is the source of the sin. Theft condemned by the community is given a new interpretation in the strict punishment. The size of the crime and the extent of the punishment are not in logical proportion with each other since the authorities wish to set an example to intimidate those who oppose them. The innocent girl symbolises the innocent society, whose greatest value is purity and belief. Everything embodied in the figurative sense of virginity, becomes involved in this power struggle. Two antagonistically opposed sets of values come into conflict. In 1987 the figurative meaning of the staged ballad was seen to be an act of opposition to the communist regime. This is not by chance, since the message of the ballad is much more general than its particular subject.

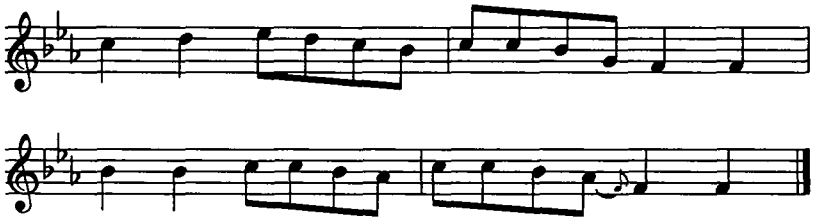
In the ballad the naive struggle in opposition to the authorities is expressed in the refrains repeated almost to the point of boredom. The musical used artistic means to raise this to a high level. The ballad relates the characteristic feature of the society: the stronger wins, the weak fails but the moral victory goes to the downtrodden. The ballad places great emphasis on the curse that strikes the seeming victor, the man who can be generalised to the point of becoming impersonal.

The curse has a special role in the ballad. In classical antiquity the curse was separate as a genre in the Greek dramas. It was still of significance in the Middle Ages. It is sufficient to think of the consequences of papal excommunication, or of curses by parents in the family, or simply of curses from the enemy and evil omens. The reality and its poetical projection lead to punishment in the ballad.

The tiny symbols find a response in the society where traditional folk culture still lives, where they convey a message for the whole community. In this way the ballad is not just a creation which can be found in books or heard on tape, but is capable of

conveying general human emotions and influencing contemporary culture with its message. The curse is one kind of the protection against the power.

Putting attention to the sin in modern society, it is possible to understand why the folk ballad with old topics became popular. Here is the other example. It concerns the conscious acceptance of motherhood. The title of the ballad is: The heartless mother.



1. Ilona Budai was leaning out of her window,
   She receives news of enemy looting in the neighbourhood.
   She thinks at once of her jewel case,
   She takes her jewel case under her arm.

5. She led her pretty daughter on her right hand,
   She took her bonny son on her left hand,
   She is walking, walking, walking through a thick pine forest,
   Along a desolate path in dark forest.
   Aye, she thinks she hears the drumming of horses' hoofs.

10. And forthwith she puts down her little daughter.
    Her pretty daughter spoke up, weeping:
    Mother, dear mother, do not leave me back on the way,
    Let your heart take pity on me, do not leave me here!
    I do leave you here, my daughter,

15. For God gives me daughter instead of a daughter,
    But God does not restore my money for nothing!
    She is walking, she is walking through the thick pine forest,
    Along the desolate path in dark forest.
    Aye, she thinks she hears the drumming of horses' hoofs.

20. And forthwith she puts down her little son.
    Her bonny son spoke up weeping:
    Mother, dear mother, do not leave me back on the way,
    Let your heart take pity on me, do not leave me here!
    I do leave you here, my son,

For God gives son instead of a son,
But God does not restore my money for nothing!
She is walking, she is walking through the thick pine forest,
On the desolate path in the dark forest,
And she arrives at a beautiful, spacious meadow.

Aye, there was a caw-buffalo coming down there,
Carrying her this year's calf between her horns,
And mooing to her last year's calf to follow.
This beholding, Ilona Budai!
Cast herself down upon the ground and began to weep with bitter tears.

Weeping with bitter tears, she blamed herself:
A callous beast will not forsake her calf,
My God, My God, my dear God,
How could I, a soulful creature forsake my child?!
With this, she turned back on her way in the thick pine forest.

On the desolate path in the dark forest,
She soon reached the place and extending her hand
She began to call her bonny son,
Aye, I will not go, for you have not been a true mother to me!
Had you been a true mother, you would not have left me here!

She is walking, she is walking through the thick pine forest,
On the desolate path through the dark forest,
She soon reached the place and extending her hand,
She began to call her pretty daughter with many a kind word.
Aye, I will not go for you have not have been a true mother to me.

Had you been a true mother, you would not have left me here!
When she heard these words, she began to cry:
I am like a tree by the road,
Anyone passing may break down my twigs,
Anyone may break my twigs and tread them into the mud!
(KRIZA 1911: 585).

The ballad was collected with only some variants, exclusively in Transylvania or in Moldavia (both belong today to Romania.). Oddly, in the wake of the folklore revival numerous new recordings and performances have appeared in the last two decades (VARGYAS 1983. II: 88). The phenomenon speaks for itself and is the reason why I have chosen this from the many examples available. The subject of the ballad can be summed up briefly. A woman flees from her persecutors, taking her children and her treasures with her. After a while she grows tired, puts the children

down and continues with the money, saying: For God will give me a son for a son, But God will not restore my treasure at all. In her flight she meets a cow carrying its calves and realises that in time of trouble even the animals rescue their offspring first of all. She returns to her abandoned children but they reject their mother and she is left alone.

Research so far has shown that the ballad contains a theme of mediaeval origin and is characteristic of a society where interest in money has come to be placed above traditional values. The ballad was found only sporadically in Hungarian oral tradition in the 19th century but it has been made fashionable by new performances. Through settings and its inclusion in the school books its role increased and it has now become an integral part of the repertoire of folklore singers.

Motherhood, which lost its role played in traditional culture in the 20th century, appeals to listeners through the example of sin and punishment. Every element of the simple text has symbolical meaning. The ballad does not give the identity of the enemy driving the woman out of her home. (The enemy could be anyone or anything.) The woman flees to the forest (also a symbolical place) and tells the children she is abandoning that the beasts of the forest will give them food, the rain will wash them and the wind will comb their hair. The ballad uses repetition to stress the conscious action (the fact that in her difficult situation the mother chooses the treasure rather than her children). She bids farewell to her son and daughter with harsh words that give the listener a cathartic experience. The sin that the mother commits cannot be made good; she returns to the starting point in vain, there is no return in the figurative sense. The ballad makes it clear that parenthood is not an object that can be put down and then picked up again when the occasion arises, but is an unbreakable bond. The sin committed once is followed by punishment lasting forever.

Sin is not an accidental deed, but the result of a conscious decision. The mother knew that she should not abandon her children, but justifies her decision with her difficult situation and so she has to accept the punishment. Naturally, external factors can play a part in evoking the conflict, but in the given situation it is the individual who decides and bears the responsibility and the consequences. The ballad shows that the punishment lasts for a lifetime.

As a conclusion I have to stress: in this respect the ballad shares a common feature with the world view of the ancient Greek tragedies. In simple textual form the ballad is capable of doing something that we know only from the best dramas: through the fate and emotions of a single person it expresses the appearance of sin, its conscious acceptance and the punishment that inevitably ensues. The moral message of folk ballads is a part of the genre and the many different ballads give many different answers to the moral approach. I have chosen only two of these to show that the portrayal of sin committed by the individual and punishment are inseparable in the folk ballad.

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'I'VE SHOT THE MAN THAT SHOT BILL BROWN': SOME OBSERVATIONS ON BALLADS AND REVENGE

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Abstract: There is considerable moral ambivalence in the representation of revenge in anglophone ballads (compared, perhaps, with folktales). A ballad like 'Lamkin' internalises the notion of personal injury as crime. In contrast, the poaching ballad 'The Death of Poor Bill Brown' depicts revenge without legal consequences, giving a sense of moral clarity which is nonetheless deceptive when set against its social background. 'The Gallant Poacher', on the other hand, employs a kind of popular theology to replace the impulse to revenge. Ballads like these do not teach morality, but rather invite the exploration and negotiation of ethical ideas like revenge and justice.
Keywords: ballads, murder, revenge, poaching, morality

Charles Dickens recalled a tale of the Bluebeard kind, probably heard as a child from his nurse Mary Weller, which he called 'Captain Murderer'. This eponymous character was in the habit of marrying tender young brides; then after a month of marriage he would order his wife to make a pie-crust, chop her into pieces, and eat the pie. When, however, he chose the fair one out of two twin sisters for his next bride, her dark twin became suspicious, and when she heard that her sister was dead she was able to figure out what had happened to her. In consequence, she offered herself as his next bride, and was duly eaten, but just before she rolled out the pie-crust she had taken a deadly poison, and so Captain Murderer swelled up and died a horrible death as the result of eating her. In this way, the dark twin exacts a kind of revenge for her sister's death that also embodies an extreme of self-sacrifice, to the extent that 'revenge' seems scarcely the right word for her noble act.

Various scholars over the years have looked at parallels between anglophone ballads and folktales in prose, and concluded that in spite of the expectation that there might be a degree of overlap among their narratives, there is in fact relatively little common ground. Rather, there is 'a tendency toward complementary distribution of subject matter', which translates into differences of narrative structure and technique, and of moral configuration: sequential structure, separation of 'internal' and 'external' realms (familiar versus unfamiliar characters, human versus otherworld), and moral clarity in the tale; episodic structure, violation of the internal/external boundary, and moral ambiguity in the ballad (SHULDINER 1978). Tales treat of individual choices and experiences; ballads treat of characters within their social environments. The morality of the dark twin's action in 'Captain Murderer' is presented with apparent clarity.

Revenge is not, without qualification, an especially common theme among the CHILD ballads. In 'Robyn and Gandeleyn' (CHILD 115), though, Robyn is slain by an arrow from out of the blue, and Gandeleyn swears not to leave the greenwood until he has had revenge for his master: 'Hoo hat m*yn* mast*er* slayin? / Ho hat do*n* þis dede? / Xal I neu*er* out of grene wode go / Til I se [his] sydis blede'. Then Gandeleyn sees the perpetrator, 'a lytil boy' called Wrennok of Donne, and there is an exchange of defiant words, with Gandeleyn insisting on what amounts to a duel with bows and arrows: 'Euer on for a*n* oþ*er*' (presumably something like 'an eye for an eye'), 'Mysau*nter* haue he xal fle' (ill chance betide he who flees). Wrennok's arrow goes, it seems, through the fork of Gandeleyn's breeches – though the etymology of the phrase 'sa*n*chobis of his bryk' was inexplicable even to CHILD (1882–98: V: 371). Whether Wrennok aimed to miss is not to be known; but Gandeleyn's arrow goes unerringly through Wrennok's heart, and his sense of triumph, justice, or duty done, is such as to warrant being reiterated over two final stanzas.

This narrative comes out of a fifteenth-century manuscript, which might or might not be a minstrel's songbook. It is a story of swift vengeance, carried out with precision and inviting little in the way of moral qualm, short on circumstantial detail, motivation, characterisation, and invitation to empathy, exhibiting a straightforward technique that on the page at least bears comparison with 'Captain Murderer'. By contrast, it suggests just how rich the anglophone ballads usually are in terms of circumstantial detail, even when much of it is conventionalised, and how sophisticated in narrative technique, how subtle in suggesting the beginnings of a story even while commencing 'in the fifth act of the play'. So a character like Lord Barnard, the betrayed husband who slays his unfaithful wife and her lover Little Musgrave exacts a sort of instant, extra-judicial revenge, slicing up the adulterers with his sword and kicking body parts around the bedchamber (CHILD 81). There is immediately a sort of *frisson* here if Musgrave and Lady Barnard are envisaged as still stark naked when her husband draws his sword on them; but if Lord Barnard commits a crime – and this kind of narrative focus on the lovers, and their betrayal by the 'little foot-page', does tend to place him in the wrong – then it is still a crime comprehensively motivated by a complex of passions. In a similarly unpremeditated moment, Mary shoots her unwelcome suitor and her uncle on the banks of sweet Dundee, after they have conspired to have her lover press-ganged away to sea (LAWS M 25; ROUD 148). In contrast, the eponymous Fair Annie, cast off in favour of a new bride after she has born seven sons, eschews revenge and is rewarded when the newcomer turns out to be her very own sister (CHILD 62). But in 'Child Maurice' (CHILD 83), where a husband (in several versions named Lord Barnard) erroneously thinks himself betrayed by his wife, and takes a bloody revenge on a character who turns out to be his wife's son, the action appears rather more premeditated and certainly the more tragic.

Narrative tone, and vocal presentation, can manipulate an audience's condemnation of Lord Barnard, the slayer of Little Musgrave; their readiness to applaud Mary on the banks of sweet Dundee; or their sympathy for everyone in 'Child Maurice'. Yet an abstract analysis of any of these stories might well go right against those readings: the legal mind might not agree with the ballad singer, and individual

listeners can always have their own views about things like adultery. Not everyone would regard Fair Annie's patient self-sacrifice as an unmitigated virtue. It is difficult to argue that ballads such as these present anything like as clear a perspective on the morality of revenge as does the tale of 'Captain Murderer'. Does Mary on the banks of sweet Dundee kill her wealthy suitor and her uncle in revenge for the press-ganging of her ploughboy-lover William, or in defence of her honour when the squire tries to force her to the ground? It is difficult to be precise about these things: both are valid, but the circumstantial details of how she comes by a weapon during the struggle seem to preclude any great degree of premeditation. Of course, part of the difficulty is that 'revenge' is not a clear category at all, and the very conception of justice probably necessarily incorporates an element of retribution. Part, too, lies in the instability of ballad reception, the difficulty of circumscribing an interpretation for a performed art form, involving the interaction of singer and listener, at any place or time.

But those considerations apply equally to tales, and few would equate the dark twin of 'Captain Murderer' with Lord Barnard in 'Little Musgrave'. The difference perhaps arises out of the attention to naturalistic detail in the ballad text: the seduction itself and the loyalty of the little foot-page, but even more so the way the drowsy Musgrave is so easily persuaded to delay when he knows he really should be going, the slowing down of the action and the effect of a kind of soft focus when Lord Barnard enters the bedchamber; his anger which combines loss of self-control with a degree of calculation that offers his adversary the better weapon; and then the cutting of steel into naked flesh. The ballad metre and melody can perhaps carry concrete detail, even if it is conventionalised detail, more readily than the prose folktale, without breaking into the flow of narrative action. Singer and audience can conceptualise the emotions of 'Little Musgrave' better than those of 'Captain Murderer', but the corollary is a sacrifice of moral simplicity.

David BUCHAN (1982: 165–6) identified a group of 'tragic-revenge' ballads from the repertoire of Anna Brown of Falkland, comprising 'Fause Foodrage' (CHILD 89), 'Jellon Grame' (CHILD 90), and 'Lamkin' (CHILD 93). Revenge in these ballads is delayed and premeditated, sometimes over the space of many years. In 'Fause Foodrage' the legitimate King Honor's son, raised in secret, grows up to take an apparently legitimate revenge upon the usurper who has seized his rightful throne and lands and kept King Honor's wife in thrall all these years. The narrative situation has echoes of *Hamlet*, but nothing like its emotional and moral complexity, and King Honor's son appears morally untainted by revenge. Rather similarly, in 'Jellon Grame' a boy takes revenge on the eponymous Jellon Grame for having killed his mother. Revenge is swift and apparently quite without premeditation. In Anna Brown's 'Lamkin' the eponymous character is a mason who, in collusion with a nurse, slaughters Lord Wearie's wife and baby son in revenge for his refusal to pay him for building him a castle. Once again, the motive is quite clearly delineated. What follows, though, is a narrative of seemingly much greater moral complexity, for instead of a swift response, in the anger of the moment so to speak, the children's nurse plots with Lamkin, who enters the house when it is quiet and Lord Wearie

himself is away, stabs the baby so that its cries will bring its mother downstairs, and finally kills her too. Some scholars have felt that this cruelty and bloodletting is excessive in relation to the given motive – that the morality of Lamkin's revenge is untenable. Many singers, too, have given versions with no trace of the disputed payment, and while some still seem to suggest a revenge killing, others seemingly just replace the wronged builder with a fearsome figure like 'Long Longkin'. It is as if moral horror at the business of revenge has prompted the creation of a mysterious, even supernatural, character capable of such determined malignancy (figuratively speaking, for the uncertainties of transmission do not justify deductions about the genetics of the ballad).

The 'problem' of revenge in 'Lamkin' is largely created by narrative construction. The cause in Anna Brown's ballad is established right at the beginning, so the whole of the rest of the ballad is taken up with the intimate details of revenge, and it is these that are so repugnant: 'frae ilka bore o the cradle / the red blood out sprang'; the lady's orders to the wet-nurse, 'still him with the pap!' 'still him with the wand!' 'still him with the bell!' till finally she has to come down herself. The murder of the lady is carried out in slow motion: 'scour the bason, nourice, / and mak it fair and clean'; and the nurse replies contemptuously, there needs no basin, let her blood run on the floor, 'What better is the heart's blood / o the rich than o the poor?' Finally, the ballad notes, the blackbird sang as Lamkin was hanged, and the thrush as the nurse was tied to the stake. It is easy to envisage all this in terms of the filmic quality in ballad stories to which M. J. C. HODGART (1962: 27–8, 30) drew attention, the rapid change of focus which not only gives impetus to the narrative but a counterpointing of image against metrical pattern and narrative movement.

What the ballad technique permits is, paradoxically, a kind of objectivity. It presents its material, in this case the materials of revenge, to listeners and singers who bring to it their own preconceptions – the notion of personal injury as crime, for instance, and the conflation of the ideas of retribution and justice. 'Revenge', wrote Francis Bacon, 'is a kind of wild justice'; and King James VI and I stated, 'Revenge and murder come coupled together'. By early modern times, the extension of the judicial power of the state had largely brought control over the righting of private wrongs into the public arena. The Senecan literary tradition, too, most notably popularised on the English stage of Shakespeare's day, promoted the ethical ambivalence of revenge. Members of the audience of *Hamlet* could have also been purchasers of Henry Gosson's printing of 'The lamentable Ditty of Little Mousgrove and the Lady Barnet'. Without labouring connections of this kind, it is perhaps a fair assumption that ballad audiences should bring to the revenge theme some presumption of moral ambivalence. The core ballad style then allows that ambivalence free play over the narrative surface, picking up on details that variously stimulate pathos or repugnance.

Potentially, though, ambivalence and the 'permissive' nature of ballad style can cut both ways. One 'Lamkin' text, communicated to Thomas Percy from Kent in 1775, is incomplete in that the informant included prose explanations, one of which states, 'Whilst he and the nurse are plundering the house, the lord comes home, and

avenges himself upon these wicked villains' (CHILD 93 K). So the pattern of revenge comes full circle: an instant retribution is exacted by the lord who, it might be felt, has some justice on his side, for here the intimate circumstantial detail, which in 'Little Musgrave' invited sympathy for the lovers, seems (so the history of ballad commentary suggests) to play against the conspirators. But the nurse's cry in Anna Brown's ballad, 'O kill her, kill her, Lamkin, / for she neer was good to me', and even more her argument, 'What better is the heart's blood / o the rich than o the poor?' lets an alternative voice be heard. This social commentary, given the usual setting of the Scottish ballads and their cast of dutiful retainers, seems a strikingly inventive piece of parallelism to counter Lamkin's concern to catch the lady's blood. Where he presents his vengeance as almost an act of ritual, the nurse speaks more like Dickens's Madame Defarge. 'There need nae bason, Lamkin, / lat it run through the floor' is the authentic voice of class war. Coming from within the heart of the family, within the walls of the strongly built castle, from the servant classes, and from a woman, the subversive force embodied in the nurse is deeply threatening, perhaps more so than even Lamkin himself, against whom walls should normally be enough protection. Nevertheless, the ballad sees order reimposed in the end (at one time a servant's killing of their master or mistress could be classified as 'petty treason' and attract the penalty of death by burning rather than hanging, but the hanging/burning ending in the Child ballads probably functions more simply as an execution formula carrying a sense of judicial closure and order restored). The ballad, if not its characters, internalises the notion of personal injury as crime.

Not so 'The Death of Poor Bill Brown' (ROUD 609), which relates with something of the ballad style an account in which a poacher, Bill Brown, is shot by a gamekeeper and, as he lies dying, calls upon his friend, the first-person narrator of the ballad, to revenge his death; this man goes out the following night, encounters the gamekeeper, who is called Tom Green, and shoots him dead. 'Bill Brown' was printed in Frank KIDSON's *Traditional Tunes* (1891: 131–3), with a tune from east Yorkshire and text from a broadside copy, and has been recorded more recently from singers in west Yorkshire, notably Arthur Howard, and Will Noble who learned it from him. On the face of it, the song appears to be fairly localised, and in fact it relates in some way to events that took place near Sheffield. Nevertheless, a text very similar to that sung by Arthur Howard was printed in London by Henry Parker Such in the second half of the nineteenth century, under the title 'Poor Bill Brown', beginning 'Ye gentlemen both great and small'. The same song was also printed on unascribed broadsides, and by Harkness of Preston as 'The Death of Poor Bill Brown'. 'Poor Bill Brown', as sung by Arthur Howard and printed on the broadsides, is a concise and neatly structured song of nine five-line stanzas, rhyming *aabbb*, and apparently tailored to the melody. Scarcely a more transparent tale of revenge could be imagined. The narrator fulfils his friend's dying request by shooting down the gamekeeper in cold blood: 'I fired and brought him down, / My hand gave him his deep death wound'. The final stanza begins, 'Now revenge you see my hopes have crown'd, / I've shot the man that shot Bill Brown', ending, 'I've crown[e]d his hopes and his memory'.

But there are no repercussions in the ballad text – no hanging or burning, no judicial closure. Clearly a capital offence, the shooting in more or less cold blood of the man who shot Bill Brown is recounted in a largely matter-of-fact tone, rising to perhaps a hint of triumph at the end, with touches of detail that define the human scale of events: 'I know the man that shot Bill Brown, / I know him well and could tell his clown, / And to describe it in my song, / Black jacket he had and red waistcoat on, / I know him well, and they call him Tom'. The epithet 'poor' Bill Brown certainly indicates sympathy for the victim; but the use of a first-person narrator is the one narrative device that is really there to direct the listener's response. The account is otherwise allowed to stand as if its morality were as self-evident as that of 'Captain Murderer'. Yet that can scarcely be, for the events exist against a background of, on the one hand, enclosure and rural poverty; repressive, if confused, class-based legislation; and the absurdity of the notion of private property in wild animals. Clearly, these considerations hold true for a large proportion of poaching activity and establish legitimising notions for poaching as a 'social crime', a conscious challenge to the prevailing social and political order and its values. Yet against these currents have to be set the operation of a lucrative black-market in game; the involvement of a range of social groups besides the rural poor; and the not uncommon employment of extreme violence by poaching gangs, as manifested in the 'poaching wars' of the late eighteenth century. Poaching could probably represent at one and the same time a challenge to the class-based system of property, and the reassertion of another, parallel system of purely commercial property rights. Nice distinctions between 'good' and 'bad' criminals, 'legitimate' social crime and chaotic disorder, are not easy to make. But the partisan tone of '(The Death of) Poor Bill Brown' must still be allowed to sit somewhat uneasily with the description of what, on one view, is an extraordinarily brutal, extra-judicial execution.

Such also printed another, quite different song under the title 'Bill Brown of Brightside Town', beginning 'In seventeen hundred and sixty-nine'. This piece, too, was published by several provincial printers (including Harkness again) as 'Bill Brown'. The text runs to twenty quatrain stanzas, and the penultimate words of the second and fourth lines provide a rhyme (or half-rhyme at any rate), while these lines invariably end with the word 'then' (so the rhyme-scheme is *ab*then*cb*then), creating a slightly absurd, doggerel effect in print, although this may not be so marked if sung to a suitable melody – KIDSON (1891: 133) suggested this was originally 'The Mill, Mill, O' which, according to Roy PALMER (1979: 9), fits very well. Out poaching with his companions near Thrybergh (near Rotherham), Bill Brown from Brightside (now part of the Sheffield conurbation) was shot down by a gamekeeper called Shirtl(e)y. The act is represented as quite deliberate, and the keeper was found and brought to trial at York, but acquitted of murder; the broadsides raise the suspicion of bribery. The ballad ends, 'Yet poor Brown's blood lost in the wood, / For vengeance cries amain then'; but there is no revenge killing, and no text in common with '(The Death of) Poor Bill Brown' – although the similarity in narrative outline is undeniable and the name is probably sufficient to posit a direct connection

(otherwise perhaps the nearest textual contact lies in the idea at the end of 'crowning' Bill Brown's name).

Partly because of the rather bizarre rhyme scheme, the syntax and story of these 'Bill Brown (of Brightside Town)' broadsides are quite difficult to follow. Nevertheless, it does seem that in 1770, John Shirteliff, a gamekeeper of Thrybergh, was acquitted at York assizes of a charge of shooting William Brown, after a trial lasting more than seven hours (PALMER 1979: 9, citing the *York Courant* of 3 April 1770). Not surprisingly, the ballad has not been collected from singers in this form. What it does have, however, is a certain amount of textual similarity with another, apparently much more popular poaching ballad, 'The Gallant Poacher' (LAWS L 14; ROUD 793). This was issued on broadsides by numerous London and provincial printers, and collected from English singers including George Dunn, Walter Pardon, Harry Cox, Louie Hooper and Lucy White, Henry Adams, Joseph Leaning. Comprising six ten-line stanzas with a complex rhyme scheme *aaabccdddb*, with short lines at *b* and *c*, the text looks to be strongly shaped by its distinctive melody. Here half-a-dozen poachers go out one night but are heard by a keeper who shoots and kills one of them. Besides the general outline, which is more or less necessarily shared by many poaching songs, the lines that are closest to 'Bill Brown (of Brightside Town)' are the emphatic 'For help he cried, / But was denied'. But perhaps more compelling is the treatment of the figure of the keeper. The most memorable part of 'Bill Brown (of Brightside Town)' is the biblical image of the gamekeeper: 'Like Cain he stood seeking for blood, / With his bayonet and gun ... This rogue's intent was fully bent, / One of us poor lads should die'; 'Like cruel Cain up to him came, / And so renew'd his wounds'. In 'The Gallant Poacher', too, the keeper 'swore before the rising sun, / That one of us should die'. And although the reference to Cain is not used explicitly there, the final stanza pictures him as a man banished and scorned:

> Now the murderous man who did him kill,
> And on the ground his blood did spill,
> Must wander far against his will,
> And find no resting place;
> Destructive things,
> His conscience stings;
> He must wander through the world forlorn,
> And ever feel the smarting thorn,
> And pointed at with finger scorn,
> And die in sad disgrace.

The idea of the mark of Cain is fairly evidently present behind these final lines. 'The Gallant Poacher' does not cry out for revenge but rather employs a form of popular theological reference to make its plea for justice. The language builds on other references: 'He crossed all life's tempestuous wave, / No mortal man his soul to save'; 'He now lies sleeping in the grave, / Until the judgment day'. The overall effect is very different from the pedestrian verse of 'Bill Brown (of Brightside Town)' (such

points of contact as there are cannot be taken to indicate a definite genetic relationship), and perhaps closer to lyric lament than the hard-edged account given in '(The Death of) Poor Bill Brown'.

'Lamkin', 'Little Musgrave', '(The Death of) Poor Bill Brown' are all in their different ways disturbing songs which invite the play of not only the receptive listener's emotions but their awareness of moral ambivalence, over the subject of revenge. This is achieved through a particular kind of attention to telling detail, counterpointed against narrative movement, which invokes a context, social and/or ethical, which brings the listener up short. This has something to do with ballad style (though there is no intention to set up definitions here) – the more surprisingly because ballad descriptions are often thought of as largely conventional (as, of course, they often are) – and the way in which classic ballads operate within a context without becoming context-bound. The lesson, so far as it goes (more of an observation or reflection, really), is that ballads do not teach morality and ethics: rather, they present the sort of ground upon which ethical ideas like revenge and justice can be explored – preferably at a safe distance from the listeners' and singers' immediate present. Ballads may not so much embody and transmit communal wisdom, as focus the attention of the community on to areas where wisdom has to be negotiated.

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THE TENDER CABIN BOY. CANNIBALISM AND THE SUBJECT

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Abstract: Cannibalism is a narrative of the self and of the other. Dramatising as it does the fear that the body's boundaries are unstable and can be breached, it remains the representative barbarism, yet it also lies at the center of Western culture, in the form of the Catholic Mass, for example. From Othello's 'anthropophagi' to the racist jokes of the 1950s, the theme of cannibalism in popular discourse has coincided with periods of high colonialism when relations with the other are at their most sharp. As *The Silence of the Lambs* showed it is also a popular contemporary narrative of alienation.

This paper examines the topos of cannibalism in nineteenth century popular songs relating to the sea. Given the horror with which the practice was condemned in the nineteenth century, particularly by the proselytising churches, it is paradoxical that it became central to popular representations of contemporary capitalism as a metaphor of the colonial project. Bloodsucking and dismembering became regular features of popular legend. In these songs the victims are not the colonial other but usually disempowered members of the ship's crew such as cabin boys. They exist against a background of several documented cases of actual cannibalism. The song representations became so widely known that they attracted parody and burlesque in light opera and the music hall.

Keywords: broadside; cannibalism; 'custom of the sea'; Darwinism; Thackeray; utilitarianism.

Cannibalism is a narrative of the self. "Devouring is the project of the totalising self which denies the other's difference" (PLUMWOOD 1993: 193). As *The Silence of the Lambs* showed, it is also a contemporary popular narrative of alienation within our own society. In his full study of the practice, A. W. Brian SIMPSON reports, 'scholars or pseudo-scholars have produced elaborate and sometimes comical taxonomies of the practice. Wholly uncritical works of this kind have been published in very recent times' (1984: 112).

This paper examines the topos of cannibalism in nineteenth century English popular songs and narratives relating to the sea. The songs do not, of course, stand alone as cultural artefacts, but as part of a popular response to the practice which in Europe goes back to the Middle Ages and beyond. 'The Ship in Distress', for example, is found as a sixteenth century French sailor ballad 'Le Petit Navire' and as the Portuguese 'Nau Catarineta', still re-enacted ceremonially in Brazil (ENTWISTLE 1939: 94)

Cannibal songs were of two kinds, in dialectical relation to each other: on the one hand, viewing cannibalism as a mark of the colonial other, and, on the other, as survival cannibalism, a 'custom of the sea', an occasional occurrence among shipwrecked seamen with its own code of practice, including, for example the drawing of

lots. Those involved may have been castaways but they were not outcasts, and the many songs associated with them are a reminder that the narrative power of people-eating overwhelms its cultural significance. A. W. Brian SIMPSON (1984) has documented nearly thirty examples of cannibalism by the crew and passengers of American and British ships during the century: in only one case were any of those involved put on trial.

This was in the 1884 case of the *Mignonette*, which foundered in a storm off South Africa. Three men and a boy escaped in a boat, without provisions. Driven to starvation after two weeks adrift, they proposed killing one of their number by lot. This was rejected by one of the crew. Following this, the captain killed the cabin boy, who was then eaten. Four days later they were picked up. The captain and mate appeared in London in the Queen's Bench before the Lord Chief Justice and other judges in December. They were sentenced to death, but were later reprieved and sentenced to six months imprisonment without labour (VINCENT 1895: 1162). The captain's status as a folk hero was confirmed when his wax likeness appeared in Madame Tussaud's (not in the Chamber of Horrors). The sentence of death was a formality to emphasise condemnation of the 'custom of the sea': there was no question of it ever being put into effect. (SIMPSON 1984: 240, 248).

MITIGATING CIRCUMSTANCES IN SURVIVAL CANNIBALISM

As cannibalism had become the representative barbarism, associated with outsiders and not sons of the Empire, mitigating circumstances were always present. *Self-preservation* was one such defence. A person may take the life of another if their own life is in danger, if such an act is necessary to save themselves. A broadside ballad on the *Mignonette* case makes the point twice that 'They killed the poor boy to preserve their own lives' (text in SIMPSON 1984: 85). Speaking as one of the crew, the narrator of a Hampshire set of 'The Ship in Distress' defends himself by saying

> my poor messmates were almost perished
> With nothing left but skin and bone'
> (BROWNE 1987: 95).

When the whaler the *Essex* was sunk by a sperm whale in the mid-Pacific in 1820, cannibalism took place on two of the boats. The event was the source of episodes in two American narratives, Edgar Allan Poe's *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* and Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*. It also gave rise to an English broadside 'The Shipwreck of the *Essex*'. As the boats are cast adrift the captain makes it clear that the will to survival will determine their conduct thereafter:

> we must do the best we can
> For life is precious to every man.
> (quoted in SIMPSON 1984: 316)

Some songs emphasise the lengths to which the crew would go to avoid murder. In the probably Irish 'Banks of Newfoundland':

> Some of our men jumped overboard, said they would rather swim to land,
> But alas, it was five hundred miles from the Banks of Newfoundland.
> (PALMER 1986: 193).

This suggests a degree of self-interest and individualism which is often considered foreign to the popular ballad.

Insanity was frequently given as a reason for a recourse to barbarism. The word 'bulimia' was given at that time to the condition of starvation leading to insanity. The condition goes back at least to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Book 8, where Erisychthon eats his own limbs one by one because of his insatiable hunger, while modern eating disorders can be regarded as a form of self-consumption. One of three contemporary broadsides on the *Mignonette* case of 1884 makes the point raised repeatedly at their trial that the four crew members had lost control of their senses:

> Mad with the thirst and the hunger as well,
> What they did then is fearful to tell
> (text in SIMPSON 1984: 85)

The ritual of *drawing lots* appears in nearly all cannibal narratives, and it was clearly considered the central plank in the argument for legitimating survival cannibalism. Within the British merchant marine it was regarded as a 'custom of the sea' only on condition that it had been preceded by the drawing of lots (SIMPSON 1984: 145). The practice features in nearly all the ballads and broadsides, in some cases even appearing in the title ('The Drawing of the Lots', 'La Courte Paille' [The short straw]), although this probably says more about the sensibilities of editors than about the preferences of singers (ORD 1930: 63; KENNEDY 1975: 288).

Early examples of drawing lots appear in the cases of the *Dolphin* in 1759 and the *Peggy* in 1765, where the victims selected were a Spaniard and an African American who was part of the ship's cargo. As Simpson comments, 'it strains credulity to suppose that lots were fairly cast' (PALMER 1986: 56–57; SIMPSON 1984: 124).

These two cases call into question the real element of chance in drawing lots. On the few occasions where 'the custom of the sea' was tested in court, the lot-drawing was considered a decisive element because it suggested that the victims acquiesced in their own murder.[1] In both oral tradition and the documentary record, the lot would fall to a disproportionate extent on the weakest victim, such as a woman, boy or a foreigner. The Brazilian anthropophagists, led by Oswaldo de Andrade, emphasised the way cannibalism in the colonial project is a metaphor of appropriation, consumption and selective digestion of differences. I suggest here that this is not

[1] It was so taken in the *Mignonette* trial (SIMPSON 1984: 94).

only true of the colonial context but of the individual instances associated with the 'custom of the sea.' Both the broadsides and contemporary news reports show that what appeared to be a random sacrifice for the greater good was often actually rigged in favour of those in a position to assert their power. A. W. Brian Simpson goes so far as to say that there are cases where providing a place for a cabin boy in a ship's boat suggests that he was included as a supply of fresh meat (SIMPSON 1984: 164). This may have applied to the shipwreck of the *Francis Spaight,* an emigrant ship wrecked in the Atlantic in 1836. Lots were drawn only for the four apprentices on board, and the draw was apparently rigged in selecting the 14-year old Patrick O'Brien. He was bled to death, and later another of the boys was killed before the crew attracted the attention of a passing American ship by waving the hands and feet of O'Brien (SIMPSON 1984: 132). No charges were ever brought. The broadside written on the event emphasises almost carnally the youth and physical qualities of the four apprentices:

> There was four youths among our crew most comely to be seen
> Growing in the prime of life their age was scarce nineteen.
> Come let the four boys now cast lots the captain he did cry
> They have no wives to lament their lives 1 of the 4 must die.
> 'The Sorrowful Loss of Lives and Casting the Lots on Board the Francis Spritt [sic]' (text in SIMPSON 1984: 321–22)

In songs from the oral tradition the victims were usually boys ('The Ship in Distress,' 'Banks of Newfoundland,' 'Sept Ans sur Mer,' 'La Courte Paille'). Could this be the Europeans' cultural concept of the body, clinging to classical Greek models of flawless beauty in contrast to the sailors, whose bodies were marked by piercing, tattooing and furrowing of sea life?

In several cases the victim was a woman. 'The Silk Merchant's Daughter', already mentioned, is the best-known song on this theme. One version collected in landlocked Bedfordshire mentions the name of the ship as *The Nancy*, but there is no evidence to link the song with any particular shipwreck (*OLD SONGS* [1904]: 20). Nevertheless, there are several documented cases where women were the victims. After *The George* was wrecked in 1822 on a voyage from Quebec to Greenock in Scotland, a woman, Joyce Rae, and five sailors were consumed; those rescued were shipwrecked a second time, and only the captain and one seaman survived. The street ballad written on the event makes much of the fact that Joyce Rae's husband was with her and had to take part:

> At length we drank the female's blood
> To quench our raging thirst.
> Her wretched husband was compelled
> Her precious blood to taste.
> (SIMPSON 1984: 315)

As in 'The Silk Merchant's Daughter', the writer clearly assumes that the tie of marriage or betrothal would add a further twist of pathos. However the choice of a woman as victim also fits larger cultural imperatives such as patriarchy, where women are objects for consumption.

On some occasions no straws were drawn, and then the chain of command was even more evident: *hierarchies* dominated even in death. Typically the officers survived, or (once again) English castaways rather than foreign (SIMPSON 1984: 128). In such cases a new authority was invoked for the elimination of the weak: *Darwinism*. This is very evident in those widely-sung ballads such as 'The Ship in Distress' and 'The Banks of Newfoundland,' where the victims are selected, openly or by deception, from among the weakest survivors. After the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859, the principle of the survival of the fittest was often invoked in debates on cannibalism. In the press debate on the *Mignonette* case, where there was no drawing of lots because the victim was nearly unconscious, Lamed Nun Dhalet Yod objected strongly to the (European) implication that the strong could kill the innocent weak (SIMPSON 1984: 88). After the 1892 shipwreck of the *Thekla* in North Atlantic, two Norwegians and a Swede ate a Dutchman called Fritz, again after drawing lots. An Oslo paper emphasised that in this case the stronger had not killed the weaker: 'We may conclude how unaffected these people are by amongst other things the theory, known in England as the 'struggle for life,' according to which the right of the stronger [*Sterkeres Ret]* is exalted to law [*Retten*]'. This gave rise to a Norwegian ballad (SIMPSON 1984: 265).

LACUNAE

While there was no documented case in the nineteenth century of a crew being rescued at the moment of murdering one of their number, this is the typical scenario of songs that entered the oral tradition in England: they include 'The Silk Merchant's Daughter,' 'Little Billee' and 'The Banks of Newfoundland'. Realism or statistical probability are not associated with the narrative ballad, but it is surely significant that none of the broadsides which reported actual cases of death has entered the oral tradition.

Instead the narratives lead us to the brink, perform the full horror in dumbshow, but then offer a premature closure. While according to the custom of the sea the sailors ate their victims, the ballads vomit up a traditional mixture of piety and self-congratulation, with all the former hierarchies still firmly in place:

> God bless that ship and her brave captain,
> Who gave us life to tell the tale,
> For by his great and friendly actions
> To Lisbon we did safely sail.
> (BROWNE 1987: 95)

May God protect all jolly sailors who boldly venture on the main
And keep them free from all such trials never to hear the likes again.
(COPPER 1975: 211)

Despite these comforting appeals, they are playing with a known incompleteness. This is because ballads quote constantly, from each other and from master narratives of the day: When one of the broadsides describes the crew of the *Mignonette* as being 'Tho' surrounded by water not any drop to drink', the holocaust described by Coleridge in 'The Ancient Mariner' is vividly present (text in SIMPSON 1984: 86). A ballad on the wreck of the *George* in 1822 ends:

They have the sad case of the George to deplore,
And we think they will go on the seas never more
(SIMPSON 1984: 118)

The elegiac song 'We'll go to Sea no More', though not printed until 1906, was once 'known to every seaman' (HUGILL 1984: 402).

Not only verbal but melodic intertexts supply the missing or diverted narrative. In the case of 'Little Billee', to be discussed presently, the melody is almost invariably that of 'Le petit navire', known all over Europe as a song of cannibalism, and the songs were being sung to a backdrop of sensational cases like that of the *Francis Spaight* and the *Thekla.* These cases were very widely reported: John Ord heard a farm servant singing 'The Merchant's Daughter Turned Sailor' in the very year of the *Mignonette* trial (n. d.: 64). In at least one case, 'The Ship in Distress', a full-blooded tale of man-eating found in Brittany, Portugal and Catalonia has become yet another narrative where a ship's sail is spotted in the nick of time.

These songs tease the listener, offering a truncated version of what was being completed with unrestrained detail in the broadsides and the mass media. Another contradiction lay in the identification of the practice with the colonial other: the context of the first reference to eating human flesh in the South Seas was actually a reported case on an American ship, the *William Brown* (SIMPSON 1984: 171). Cannibalism still speaks through 'our' culture. The conventional location of Christianity at the opposite pole to cannibalism very obviously ignores the Catholic Mass.[2] I come from a country which has forced cows to turn cannibal, and is now struggling to cope with the consequences, and I live in one where animal rights groups have exposed

[2] Militant Protestants were not slow to point this out: 'A New Song of the Late Lord Chancellors [Jeffreys] Last Will and Testament' (1689) depicts the Pope as a blood-drinker:

Unto the Pope of Italy,
I do bequeath my Blood to He,
'Twill serve instead of Claret Wine,
Then let him have his fill of mine,
For he loves blood with all his heart,
Then let him take it for his part. (lines 55–60)
(DAY 1987: 2. 287)

the degradation involved in fur farming, where silver foxes are fed the ground-up remains of their slaughtered blood-relations.

In the shipwreck narratives the gaps are more subtle, but it is not surprising that their sentimentality attracted parody and burlesque. It is a characteristic of utilitarian discourse that other, equally telling arguments are suppressed, and it was this hidden discourse that parodists of the genre often delighted in exposing. These parodies have themselves become part of the oral tradition and in many contexts have displaced their models. The best-known of these is 'Little Billee', written by the novelist William Makepeace Thackeray before 1863, which has itself vigorously entered the oral tradition and is, with 'The Ship in Distress', probably the most widely-sung ballad of cannibalism in England.[3] By concentrating on three suppressed aspects, the youth, the powerlessness and the tenderness of the victim, he subverts the conventional discourses of the broadsides (although he too stops short of actually letting his victim be killed and eaten).

First, the equally utilitarian, counter-argument that the extreme youth of the cabin boys entitled them to be spared first, had been suppressed. The fact that this would probably be the one prevailing today reflects a significant change in sensibility since the nineteenth century, emphasising youth over reproductive ability. Secondly, his powerlessness is emphasised. As in the real life shipwreck of the *Francis Spritt*, where the drawing of lots was apparently rigged in selecting the 14-year old Patrick O'Brien, Billee is in every sense 'little', young and in no position to defend himself.

Finally, Thackeray makes the obvious point that the meat of a cabin boy would be much more toothsome than that of any old sea dog. As gorging Jack and guzzling Jimmy quite rightly reason,

> There's little Bill, he's young and tender;
> We're old and tough, so let's eat he.
> (THACKERAY 1900: 595)

This truth, literally unspeakable in the pathos of the broadside, is similarly expressed in 'La Courte Paille' (The Short Straw), where the boy *is* killed and eaten,

> On le mangea à la sauce blanche
> Avec les sal-, sal-, salsifis pas cuits
>
> Ils eurent la délicatesse
> De mettre sa, sa, sa part de côté.
> (KENNEDY 1975: 288)

[3] All the versions I have seen keep the mock-pathetic detail of Little Billee undoing the button of his shirt, but a Hampshire singer understandably changed the port of sailing from Bristol to Portsmouth, while Bob Roberts changed Thackeray's reference from Admiral Napier to the much better-known Nelson (BROWNE 1987: 94; Bob Roberts. *Songs from the Sailing Barges.* Topic Records LP 12TS361, 1978, Side 2, Track 9, 'Little Boy Billee.')

They ate him up with white sauce
And with some sal--sal-salsify uncooked

They had the good manners
To put hi-hi-his share aside.

Just as cannibalism is today the source of jokes which help us to distance us from the implications of the practice, so jocular verses like these were also part of the lore of survival cannibalism. Even the modern historian of the *Mignonette* case cannot resist a jest at the most sickening moment of all, when the murderers had to dismember the boy's body: 'it might now be supposed that the three sailors, confronted with the corpse of their shipmate, would be in something of the same state of puzzlement as children confronted for the first time by artichokes – uncertain how to proceed next. But Dudley and Stephens seem to have had no such problem. They stripped the body, threw the clothes overboard, and at once cut out the heart and liver, which they ate' (SIMPSON 1984: 68).

Finally, 'Little Billee' points up the incongruity of exaggerated piety in a context of legitimated murder. Such piety in the act of execution was held to be a mitigating circumstance. To whoever was waiting to have his heart torn out and devoured, the point may have seemed an academic one, but singers used such moments for dramatic (and later for comic) purposes. The chosen victim in 'The Ship in Distress' begs to be allowed time to pray 'unto our dear Lord' while prudently sending sailors up the rigging to look out for passing ships. One does indeed pass and rescue them. In 'The Banks of Newfoundland', an Irish song not known in England and Scotland, one of many to bear that title, the captain's boy was given a full hour to say his prayers, and in that time an English ship appeared on the horizon. Contemporary accounts of shipwrecks show that such ships often failed to stop, but in this case the sailors were rescued and the boy's life was spared (PALMER 1986: 193). To maximise his chances, Little Billee says his prayers from the masthead while scanning the horizon for signs of land or passing ships. Choosing the longest sacred texts known to him, he says his catechism and then goes on to the Ten Commandments. Evidently an inventive lad, he has reached the Twelfth Commandment before he sights land and thus saves his life (THACKERAY 1900: 595).

Were perhaps all of these songs performed as burlesques? At least one piece of evidence strongly suggests that they weren't. The North Derry singer Eddie Butcher recalled that his father, who learnt most of his songs in the nineteenth century, 'did not like to sing "It is now for New England" ('The Silk Merchant's Daughter') because it upset him to think that the heroine, or the hero, would be eaten by shipmates,' indeed by her lover (SHIELDS 1981: 13). He was not typical in this: the song has been widely collected in England, Scotland and America.

CONCLUSION

For an urban population at least, the process of killing for food is still a matter of revulsion, and therefore of suppression. Cannibalism as taboo can be explained, as the eco-feminist Carol ADAMS has done, as a displacement of guilt about eating meat by absorbing the original concern about animals' fates into a new human-centred hierarchy (1991: 42). By favouring narratives which stopped short of actually killing and eating people, singers clearly diverge from the majority of the broadsides. In place of the sensationalism of the custom of the sea, they introduced an element of divine intervention: above all they privileged the values of common humanity and the rights of the disempowered. In so doing, they achieved in the ballad what plainly had not been foremost on the high seas. Nevertheless, their songs clearly belong to a liminal tradition in which the values of a society are tested through transgression.

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PERFORMING OF SONGS AND BALLADS

THE ORAL QUALITY OF A PRINTED TRADITION

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Abstract: While folklorists know that texts of the same ballad from different printers of street-broadsides were seldom exact replicas of each other, we have rarely examined the actual range and nature of the variations printed transmission manifested. Grouping variations into three categories – printing mechanics, vocabulary, and narrative content – this essay discusses twenty-one different nineteenth-century broadside prints of the same British highwayman ballad, "The Wild and Wicked Youth", to show just how each printer was in varying degrees "recreating" and not just "reproducing" the text he was passing on.

Keywords: broadside ballad, "Wild and Wicked Youth", variation, orality/print.

While students of traditional verse have long studied variability among orally-transmitted, aurally-received texts, we've not done much with printed song-texts that were processed visually. Although we know that printed tradition was textually unstable (BROADWOOD 1974: x; HOLLOWAY and BLACK 1975: 3; DE SOLA PINTO and RODWAY 1965: 17) and that it displayed continuities with oral tradition (DUGAW 1984), in analysis we invariably confine ourselves to just a few examples of actual verses (e.g. ANDERSEN and PETTIT 1985; GREENHILL 1987). Here I hope to provide more detailed evidence than is customary of how a ballad's transmission within the culture of nineteenth-century broadside printing evinced characteristics similar to transmission in "oral tradition."

My data consist of twenty-one separate prints of "The Wild and Wicked Youth", a British ballad that tells of a young man who turns highwayman in order to support a wife with expensive tastes. Eventually caught and sentenced to death, he defiantly requests a joyous, well-attended funeral. (The twenty-one broadsides come from the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library's microfilm copies of Cambridge University's Madden Collection, from UCLA's Special Collections, and from photocopies of National Library of Ireland holdings. For a typical text, see A in the Appendix.) The ballad passed into domestic, amateur repertoires in both Great Britain and Anglo-North America and has been collected from many village and household singers, each version of which – as we expect from oral tradition – exhibits significant uniqueness (LAWS 1957: 172). Surprisingly, though the variation is considerably less than that found within a population of folk versions, each printed text is also in some way or other unique, evincing "recreation" and not just "reproduction".

Indeed, even sheets from printers who shared business relationships – hence the same ballad stock – varied. For example, nineteenth-century county printers either bought rights to or simply stole ballads from London printers, especially the largest two, James Catnach and John Pitts (both of whom also stole from each other), and texts of "Wild and Wicked Youth" printed and sold locally by W. Fordyce of Newcastle, George Walker of Durham, and William Pratt of Birmingham are essentially Catnach's (HOLLOWAY and BLACK 1975: 3–4). But all exhibit some oral-like recreation: Pratt's typesetter, for example, systematically adding an "and" in front of several verbs that we find nowhere else: "*And* brought the gold home to my heart's delight", "*and* bid them goodnight", "*And* taken I was" (my italics). W. S. Fortey bought out Catnach's business from the founder's sister, Anne Ryle, in 1859 and reprinted a "Wild and Wicked Youth" sheet Catnach had originally put out between 1813 and 1838 (HINDLEY 1887; 1968). While Catnach's own type-forme would have long since been broken down (broadside printers could not afford to keep needed type set up just to accommodate possible future printings), unsold copies of the sheet were warehoused, and Fortey would have had an earlier sheet at hand when reissuing the "Wild and Wicked Youth" decades after Catnach published it (SHEPARD 1969: 58). But even if we ignore punctuation, one quarter of the thirty-two lines common to the two versions exhibit differences, though all minor – primarily the dropping or adding of single words, possibly for metrical reasons (e.g. "A robbing I went" instead of "A robbing went", "my money did grow low" instead of "my money it did grow low"). Indeed, even two of Catnach's own printings of the ballad aren't exact replicas: the differences are minimal and are in mechanics only (the presence or absence of some end-of-line commas, "and" as opposed to "&", variable spellings of "dear"/"dere"), but they do exist. In fact, just two of the twenty-one different broadside printings of "Wild and Wicked Youth" employed in this study share the same text, and the exactness resulted from use of the same forme, not from a copying that required new type be set up.

Among the twenty-one sheets, the simplest kind of variation is in mechanics: in punctuation, spelling (bred/bread, city/sity, pursue/persue, tears/tares, despair/dispair), capitalization (lords/Lords, square/Square), and typesetting (that is, the careless kind that produced such obvious and correctable mistakes as the running together of words – "sixhighwaymen", "inGrosvenor square" – not the purposive kind resulting from lack of the right type [THOMSON 1974: 143]). But much of the time, differing punctuation, spelling, capitalization, and typesetting appear in lines and stanzas whose words are otherwise replicated exactly, suggesting that the compositor had a printed version in sight. Even so, he was apparently motivated by what might be called an "oral attitude" toward the ballad, for the above variations in mechanics did not change the *sound* of the original; in other words, the idea of visual proofreading to produce a copy that *looked* the same, not just sounded the same, did not seem paramount in the worldview of broadside print-culture participants. Possibly, as in oral performance, once the utterance had been "rendered", it was considered done with, past, to be neither retrieved nor "corrected".

Clearer instances that an oral attitude prevailed among transmitters of "Wild

and Wicked Youth" broadsides are seen in a second, more substantive kind of variation: change in word-form and word use. For example, tense occasionally differs, repositioning the protagonist in narrative time: the youth may say that in such-and-such a place "I died for scorn" (past), "I die with scorn" (present), or "I must die in scorn" (future), and that fair maids, lamenting his execution, "did cry" for him, "doth cry" for him, or "will cry" for him. Lexical alteration effects greater change in meaning. For instance, twenty of the twenty-one prints have a stanza in which the protagonist steals from nobility like Lord Golding and Lady Mansfield, and twelve of those twenty-one word the stanza's fourth line (in which the robber returns home with his loot) the same: "And went to my heart's delight". But we also find the line rendered "Went to play with my heart's delight", "Went to the play with my heart's delight", and "Brought home the gold to my heart's delight," among others. In all cases, the only unvarying words are "heart's delight", probably because they're key words in the line's meter and rhyme, which are oral rather than visual phenomena, again indicating the importance of sound, not just of sight.

Such free-form re-presentation of word and phrase appears in virtually every stanza of "Wild and Wicked Youth": the protagonist "always was a roving blade", "was always counted a roving blade", or "always was call'd a roving blade"; he turns robber to maintain his wife "fine and gay", "fair and gay", or "rich and gay"; after robbing the nobility in Grosvenor Square, he goes to Covent Garden not only with his "blooming", his "blooming one", his "blooming maid", his "blooming girl", or his "blooming bride", but also with his "pretty girl", his "sweet girl", or his "heart's delight". When he is eventually either "dead and in my grave", "dead and gone to my grave", "dead and carried to my grave", or "dead and laid in my grave", he wishes to be borne by either four, six, or twelve girls who sport "gloves and ribbons", "white gloves and ribbons", "gloves and white ribbons", "gloves and pink ribbons", "white gowns and ribbons", or even "broadswords and liberty". To repeat: since similarities among most versions are much greater than differences, compositors were apparently copying the text from an existing sheet rather than recalling it from memory; even so, none was consistently reproducing the text at hand and in sight but, like most household singers, was often recreating general narrative images and ideas.

Names constitute a special subset of vocabulary. In oral tradition, they are an unusually protean component of ballad narrative, reflecting folklore's relevance to its contexts of performance and use: neither a transcendent nor an escapist form of expression, folklore maintains an intimate, organic, mutually-influencing relationship with "real life", and names can be prominent signifiers of the real. "Wild and Wicked Youth" broadsides further exhibit an oral quality by similarly manifesting plasticity in names. For example, the robber most often burgles homes in Grosvenor Square, but he also robs in Groven Square; most times he's captured in "Covent Garden" by "Fielding's gang", but he's also caught in "Coven's Garden" by "Fieldskin gang".

Similar-sounding name-variants like these suggest, at the very least, such common vagaries of oral transmission as mishearing; name-variation in which sounds are quite *dissimilar* suggests the more interesting psychology of an "oral attitude" on a

printer's part. Thus the narrator, though most often born in Newry Town, is also born in Stephen's Green, Dublin City, and even Newgate gaol; he robs not just in Grosvenor Square and its various homophones, but also in Belgrave Square and Crosshowden Square; his female victim, most often Lady Mansfield, is also Lady Welding and Lady Williamson, while his captor is not just a phonic permutation of "Lord Fielding" but also the quite distinct "Lord Patrick".

A third kind of variation provides the most striking examples of an oral attitude: significant recomposition resulting from substantial additions or substitutions of content that change the ballad's plot, sentiment, or cultural ethos. While several of our twenty-one broadsides contain unique textual elements, four variations deserve special mention because they appear more than once, though of course never worded exactly the same. First is a pair of distinctive opening stanzas (found twice) in which the highwayman does not identify himself by the usual biographical facts of where born, where died, and how apprenticed, but by a declaration of attitude, taste, character, and behavior: he's a wild and wicked youth, excessively fond of women, and dismissive of parental strictures to mend his ways. Second is a distinctive line in the stanza treating the youth's initial venture into crime (invariably stanza 2): in place of the usual disclosure that to support his wife in style he "A robbing went on the highway", we find (in four texts) "Lords Dukes and Earls I made to pay". While it makes sense for a thief to prey on moneyed nobility, one perceives a radical sensibility underlying the robber's relieving aristocrats of the wealth that birth, status, and inherited privilege unfairly bestowed on them, an interpretation strengthened by the third substantive variation, found unequivocally in two of our broadsides, equivocally in a third: a stanza espousing a Robin Hood-like redistribution of wealth from undeserving haves to deserving have-nots ("I never robb'd a poor man yet, / Nor ever caused a poor man to fret; / But I robb'd the rich, and serv'd the poor / Which has brought me to death's door"). Fourth is the addition of a stanza (found wholly in three sheets, partially in one) in which the highwayman laments that, though others will grieve for him, he's still fated to hang.

Five of the twenty-one broadsides contain one or more of these four most-striking variations – variations which, I suspect, originated with an Irish or strongly Irish-influenced hand. Two of the five sheets were actually printed in Ireland, one in America, and two in Birmingham, England. The two Birmingham ones provide perhaps the best illustration of recreation within the printed tradition of "Wild and Wicked Youth", manifesting unusually distinctive plot elements as well as vocabulary.

Most individualistic is the version put out by S. W. Russell of Birmingham's Moor Street (text B in the Appendix), containing the statement-of-character/parental-disapproval opening stanzas, the rob-the-rich-help-the-poor claim, and half of the stanza telling of widespread general grieving over his impending death. This version also contains a motif found in none of the other twenty texts, the highwayman-narrator's disclosure that "With my pistol and my broad sword, / Stand and deliver was the word." But its most unique feature is of form rather than content: it reconstitutes "Wild and Wicked Youth's" usual narrative structure in a way often found in

oral tradition – by *rearranging* component parts (lines, couplets, and stanzas) from the order in which they appeared in the (presumed) source-model. Five of the seven stanzas are unique combinations of couplet-pairs that, in all other versions, are the closing two lines of one stanza and the opening two lines of another. For example, stanza 4 combines what are usually lines 3 and 4 of the robbing-the-nobility stanza ("I shut the shutter, bid them goodnight, / I carried the gold to my heart's delight") with the usual opening two lines of the capture stanza ("The very next night we did away, / To Covent Garden to see the play"). Of the twenty-one broadsides, this Russell version may have been most indebted to *actual* oral tradition: while all other versions display enough similarity to indicate direct copying (albeit inexact) from a printed source at hand, this one suggests what ballad scholars often claim to have been the case but can seldom exemplify – that Russell's source was a real-life folk-singer (BROADWOOD 1974: x; LAWS 1957: 43; SHEPARD 1969: 46).

It is possible that Russell, unaware that "Wild and Wicked Youth" had already been widely issued on broadside, thought he was publishing an original song and hence was "reproducing" exactly what his contributor gave him orally. The same, however, cannot be said of the printer from whose shop came the other highly distinctive Birmingham broadside in this Irish-influenced group, T. Bloomer of High Street (see Appendix text C), for Bloomer *also* printed a broadside of "Wild and Wicked Youth" (Appendix text D) that, except for the youth's being "undaunted" rather than "wicked", was a fairly standard English text, close to the Appendix's Catnach version (A). I've already mentioned that some printers put out more than one broadside of the ballad; Catnach himself did, as did C. Paul of 18 Great St. Andrew Street in London. But both made only minor changes each time, whereas in Bloomer's case, the differences are much greater. Bloomer's second(?) broadside merges the typical "Wild and Wicked Youth" form of his first(?) sheet with an Irish-influenced version – one similar to rival S. W. Russell's in employing the distinctive statement-of-character/parental-disapproval opening, in naming the magistrate responsible for the robber's capture "Lord Patrick", and in combining both male and female pallbearers into a single stanza (they're typically distributed over two stanzas).

Why would Bloomer issue two prints of the same song whose visible surface contents differed so markedly? Whether he stole the shared elements from his in-town rival Russell, or whether Russell pirated them from Bloomer, or whether they were both drawing from another source or sources, we can't say. What we *can* say is that Bloomer's concept of his printed broadside ballads included the legitimacy of "variants": to him, ballad texts were fluid, shifting, protean, and multi-form, adaptable to *different* contexts of popularity, relevance, and use, without necessarily being different songs (his two versions sport the same title). In short, Bloomer exhibited what, in varying degrees, virtually every other broadside verse-maker, typesetter, and shop-owning printer of the nineteenth century represented in this sample of twenty-one texts did: an "oral attitude" toward his commercial broadside-ballad products, an attitude that would eventually be superseded by a contrasting "literate attitude" which we associate with printed transmission today.

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APPENDIX

(Verses have been typed to approximate textual formats of the original broadsides.)

[A]

WILD AND WICKED YOUTH

J. Catnach, Printer, 2, Monmouth-court 7 Dials

IN Newry town I was bred and born
In Steven's Green I died with scorn,
I served my time to the saddling trade,
And always was a roving blade.

At seventeen I took a wife,
I loved her dear as I loved my life,
And to maintain her fine and gay,
A robbing went on the highway.

But my money did grow low,
On the highway I was forced to go,
Where I robbed both lords & ladies bright
Brought home the gold to my heart's delight.

I robbed Lord Golding I do declare,
Lady Mansfield in Grosvenor Square,
I shut the shutters, bid 'em good night,
And went away to my heart's delight.

To Covent Garden I took my way,
With my blooming to see the play,
Till Fielding's gang did me pursue,
Taken I was by the cursed crew.

My father cries I am undone,
My mother cries for her darling son,
My wife she tears her golden hair,
What shall I do for I'm in despair.

But when I am dead, and in my grave,
A decent funeral let me have,
Six highwaymen to carry me,
Give them broad swords and liberty.

Six blooming girls to bear my pall,
Give them gloves and ribbons all,
When I am dead, they'll tell the truth,
He was a wild and wicked youth.

[B]

The Wild and Wicked Youth

I AM a wild and wicked youth,
I love young women, and that's the truth,
I love them so, I love them well.
I love them so, no tongue can tell.

My parents oft times told me I should rue,
If such wicked ways I did pursue;
I never minded what they did say,
But still kept up in my wicked way.

With my pistol and my broad sword,
Stand and deliver was the word;
I robb'd Lord Golding I do declare,
And Lady Mansfield in Grosvenor-square

I shut the shutter, bid them good night,
I carried the gold to my heart's delight,
The very next night we did away,
To Covent Garden to see the play.

Lord Patrick did me pursue
Taken I was by his cursed crew;
I robb'd Lord Golding I do declare,
And Lady Mansfield in Grosvenor square.

I never robb'd any poor man yet,
Nor ever made any tradesman fret;
Now I am cau and condemned to die,
Many a young woman will for me cry.

Let six young highwaymen carry me,
With their broad swords and sweet liberty,
And six young women bear my pall,
With their white gloves and white ribbons all.

[S.W. Russell, Printer, Moor-street, near
Castle street, Birmingham – Travellers supplied]

[C]

THE
Wild and Wicked
YOUTH

I Am a wild and wicked youth,
I love young women and that's the truth,
I love them so and I love them well,
I love them better than tongue can tell.

My father and my mother too,
They offen told me I sholud rue,
I never minded what they did say,
But kept on my wild and wicked way.

At seventeen I took a wife,
I loved her dear as I loved my life,
And to maintain her both fine and gay,
Lords Dukes & Earls I made to pay.

I robbed Lord Goldby I do declare,
And Lady Mansfield in Grosvenor Square,
I shut the shutters, and bid them good night,
Went with my store to my heart's delight.

The very next day I did away,
To Covent Garden to see the play,
Lord Patrick did me pursue,
Taken by his cursed crew.

My father cried O, I am undone,
My mother cries for a darling son,
My blooming girl tares her golden hair
Where shall I go for I am in despair.

Let six highwaymen carry me,
Give them sweet liberty,
Six blooming girls to bear up my pall,
Give them white gloves and pink ribbons all.

T. Bloomer, Printer, Birmingham

[D]

WILD
AND
Wicked Youth

T. Bloomer, Printer, Birmingham.

In Newry town I was bred and born,
In Stephen's Green I die in scorn;
I serv'd my time to the saddling trade,
Was always counted a roving blade.

At seventeen I took a wife,
I loved her dear as I loved my life;
And to maintain her both fine and gay,
I went a robbing on the highway.

But when my money it did grow low,
On the high road I was forc'd to go,
Where I robb'd Lords and some ladies bright,
Brought home the gold to my heart's delight.

I robb'd Lord Golding I do declare.
And Lady Mansfield in Grosvenor square
I shut the shutters bid them good night,
Went to the play with my heart's delight.

Through Covent-garden I took my way,
With my pretty blowing to see the play,
'Till the Fielding's gang did me pursue,
Taken I was by the cursed crew.

It's now my father cries I am undone,
My mother cries for her darling son;
My blooming tears her golden hair,
What shall I do for I am in despair,

But when I'm dead and carried to my grave,
A pleasant funeral pray let me have,
Six highwaymen to carry me,
Give them broad swords and sweet liberty,

Six blooming girls to bear up my pall
Give them white gloves and pink ribbons all;
When I'm dead they may tell the truth,
There goes a wild undaunted youth.

EQUATING TRADITIONAL SINGERS' TERMS WITH MELODIC ADAPTATION

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Abstract: This paper addresses the difficult question of musical aesthetics, analysing how singers describe melodic qualities in a textually conservative ballad tradition. Drawing on fieldwork in the North East of Scotland, it begins to compile a basic vocabulary for melodic description from *within* the tradition.
Keywords: Scottish ballads, musical rural term, aesthetics

In one of his major projects, cantometrics, Alan Lomax attempted to describe the vocal qualities of traditional singers objectively. For the last few years, I have been looking at this question from the other side, trying to understand Scottish traditional singers' aesthetics from the inside: how do they create a good performance and what makes a performance good in their eyes? Elsewhere I have noted a partial list of native terminology for melodic decoration and for general melodic character (McKEAN 2001). In this essay, I want to look more closely at a few of these terms – 'lilt', 'good goin', 'jaunty', 'gran', 'sweepin', 'curly bits', 'twiddly bits' – and try to get at their meanings through the words of the singers themselves. Perhaps then we can pinpoint some tune types and melodic devices to which the terms specifically apply. The phrases range from the very general, describing the overall contour and colour of the melody itself, to the apparently specific, describing particular melodic turns, or decorative features peculiar to a singer's delivery. Naturally, they often apply to several aspects of a song – tempo, melody and performance style – which makes defining them difficult. They are all closely intertwined and to separate them impossible and quite artificial. I shall therefore try.

These terms were elicited while discussing ballads, or narrative songs that could be said to be ballads in a traditional singer's definition. (Traditional singers in the North East of Scotland do not much differentiate between ballads in the academic sense and other kinds of songs with narrative content, meaning and association (see SHIELDS 1993: 125).) I make no claim for this being a comprehensive list; it is simply a collection drawn from recent fieldwork involving ballad singers. In fact, these words do not apply exclusively to ballad singing. All of the singers involved in my larger study sing other kinds of songs, from lyric to romantic, from Country and Western to Music Hall. They undoubtedly use many of the same techniques in the singing of songs of many genres, and may well use many of the same descriptive terms. It may therefore be incorrect to call these ballad terms, but they

are ballad singers' terms and, as such, they apply to the ballad as well as any other form, though it is hard to imagine a term like 'grand' applied to songs of some genres.

MELODIC QUALITIES

Let us start with a qualitative term, lilt, which applies as much to the tempo of the tune as to a specific form or contour. But that is not the whole story, for lilt really applies to the overall way a tune is performed. The Irish, of course, have an entire subgenre of tradition called lilting where a tune is sung with meaningless syllables (e.g. deedle daddle dum). This tradition also exists in Scotland, though, curiously, with less of a lilt to it, as it were. Nevertheless, the tradition of 'diddling', as it is also called, gives us some insight into the meaning of lilt when used to describe song melodies. In a nutshell, it means the lively turning of the melody, the way in which the tune, and indeed the performer, moves from note to note, from beat to beat and from phrase to phrase. Elements that contribute are the tempo, rhythmic or even martial, the notes often sung with an upward swoop, an attacking glissando, and the famous 'Scots snap' of dotted eighth note and two thirty-second notes which is usually applied to fiddle tunes. Compare, for example, the way Lucy Stewart sings the 'Jolly Beggar' (CHILD 279) (STEWART 1989) and the way Elizabeth Stewart, her niece, sings it with a lilt, or lift, as it is sometimes called (STEWART 1994). The latter is an extreme example, where the lilt of the tune *and* the performance takes precedence over Elizabeth's desire to emulate her aunt's traditional version. It is also a prime example of three other terms on my list of descriptive terms, good goin, jolly (as in the title of the song) and jaunty, words that Stewart applies to this melody and to this rendition of it in particular. In most cases, the narrative itself calls for this sort of jaunty treatment, so lilt can also be seen to derive from the meaning, the text, of the song as well. Of all of the terms discussed here, some apply more to melody, others to performance, but none can be said to apply to only one aspect of a song, and therein lies the complexity of discussing such issues in the first place.

In this song, performed in this way, a singer's use of the term lilt is analogous to the Shetland fiddler's, for it is not simply the tune structure itself, but the rendition of it. Shetlander Gilbert Gray says, 'There's something you can't get in if you play aff o' the notts – it seems to be too plain – some of those old Shetland tunes, you have to get in some kind of a lilt with them' (COOKE 1986: 40). Another Shetlander, John Henderson, reinforces that the term refers as much to what Peter Cooke calls the 'rhythmic flow' of a tune as to the contour: 'Unless you can play the fiddle wi' a lilt in til it, then that was no use even grapping a bow – it's the bowing and lilt that [makes] you feel like dancing' (COOKE 1986: 98). Pairs of notes of equal duration in standard staff notation are played at 4:3, or 5:3, or occasionally 2:1 ratio in Shetland fiddle tunes, adding the lilt that listeners expect and enjoy: 'It is such variation in the infra-rhythmic structure of the tune, combined with variation in dynamic accents achieved with the bow, that make good performances – playing that makes Shetlanders "feel like dancing"' (COOKE 1986: 98). While this is extreme in the Shetland case, it is less

so in mainland Scottish music and song. I refer to it here only to borrow from its analagous understanding of rhythmic flow. Something similar goes on in Elizabeth Stewart's 'The Jolly Beggar'. Clearly Henderson and Cooke are talking about dance music, but perhaps we have drawn too firm a boundary between song and dance in the mainland Scottish tradition. As scholars will be well aware, ballad and dance are often one and the same thing in many European cultures. I would not make a case for Scottish ballads to be considered dances, only that we have a good deal to learn from the way people talk about instrumental music, with an awareness, insight and vocabulary singularly lacking in their usual approach to discussing traditional song. (Elizabeth Stewart, for instance, is an accomplished instrumentalist as well as a singer; she talks about melody and text with equal facility.)

Let us turn to two other terms that apply to tunes with lilt: good goin and jaunty. Good goin refers mainly to the forward drive of a tune, the way the emphasised beat, and the pointed phrase, draws the singer, and the listener, inexorably on to the next one. Through rhythmic emphasis and pitch control, the tune settles into the pulse, the momentum, of a good goin tune. This is only half the story, however. To qualify as a good goin tune, a melody must have a smooth contour, with relatively small melodic progressions, typically limited to a fifth up or down, often by way of transitional notes. In this way, one is lead smoothly through the tune, without having to gather one's power, emotion, or breath, for a big jump. This is not to say that the overall range of the song must be thus limited, simply that the means of getting there is incremental, allowing for a smoother forward progression. Rhythmic emphasis – like that in Elizabeth Stewart's piano opening to 'The Jolly Beggar' – can make even one note jumps appear greater than they are, and when she arrives at the song, she eases back and emphasises less pointedly.

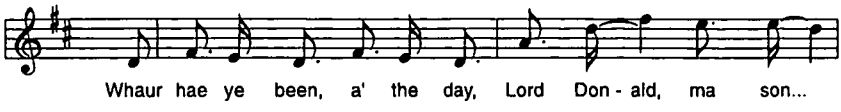
This brings us to jaunty. Where good goin refers to the melody itself, how it develops and progresses, jaunty applies almost entirely to rhythm. To be sure, it can only really be applied to major tunes, coupled with fairly cheerful narrative content, but given that proviso, it is pointed rhythmic emphasis, and to some extent tempo, that makes a song jaunty. A ballad like 'The Aul Beggarman' (also ascribed to 279 by CHILD, inaccurately I think) can easily be sung in a leisurely, a-rhythmic style, but in that form it is neither good goin, nor jaunty. If one introduces a swing to the rhythm, however, pointing the down beats and emphasising every other beat through volume, modulations of timing, and sliding pitches, we get an entirely different impression of the tune (see, for example, Norman Kennedy's version on *Folk-Songs of North-East Scotland* (1995)). Jaunty, therefore, is largely a term of performance expression rather than inherent melodic structure.

Next, I would like to address the terms gran and sweepin, which Norman Kennedy, and others, apply to the ballad 'Lord Donald' (a version of CHILD 12, 'Lord Rendal'). When Norman describes this melody as grand, he is focusing on two elements (1) the tempo which is slow, relaxed, and dignified; and (2) the melodic steps, the actual musical intervals of the tune, which are striking. Though the overall range is exactly the same as that of 'The Jolly Beggar' (an octave and a major third), the effect is totally different.

Let us look first at the tempo. Norman, Stanley Robertson, Jeannie Robertson, and most traditional singers, 'take out' these ballads, that is to say, they take their time singing them. Perhaps the single most common feature of what is considered good traditional singing in Scotland is the tendency of the artist to sing at a leisurely pace, giving precedence to the words, and giving the tune room to breathe, as Norman would say. The grandeur of the tune and the emotion of the song derive from this simple unspoken rule. (Sometimes spoken when someone contravenes it.) Imagine singing or playing the tune to 'Lord Donald' with a bit of a lilt, up-tempo and jaunty. No, the words demand a slower approach. So here we have a definite correlation between tempo and the adjectives gran and sweepin, and again the line is blurred between the inherent qualities of the tune and the singer's rendition of it. From this uncertainty emerges a question: If we play or sing the same melody to a faster beat, is it really the same melody, as scholars would have us believe? I think not, actually. By extension, therefore, I think it incorrect to say that two different texts use the *same* melody. We generally accept that traditional song makers use pre-existing melodies, but, to my mind, when they mould them to their own texts, they are creating new entities, new songs. To say that they are reusing a melody is to deny the unity of text and tune that defines song. Having said that, I think we can say that melodies may be of the same family, sharing a common ancestor, and are closely related if the songs have emotionally similar texts. In most cases, scholars continue to consider ballads as texts, sometimes as texts with tunes, or even sung texts, but in fact they are not, they are *songs*.

Apart from tempo, it is the intervals that set apart a gran or sweepin tune like 'Lord Donald'. Can these features be used to define more closely what Norman means by gran and sweepin and what Stanley Robertson means when he says that you can hear the cliffs and the mountains in certain melodies and the wind in others? Naturally such visualisations, where melodic progressions are identified with emotion and meaning, have a lot to do with the words themselves, but even deliberate timing and phrasing do not automatically create grandeur. The tune 'Villikens and His Dinah', for instance, may be sung in jauntily, as in 'Sweet Betsy from Pike', or in a slower, more emotional way, as called for in 'Lord Ronald', another North East Scottish version of 'Lord Rendal'. The melody is slowed down to accord with the tragic import of the words, but we still are not left with grand or sweepin tune.

What is it, then, about the 'Lord Donald' tune that is gran and sweepin? I think it is the first line that leads Norman to his description:



Music example 1: Lord Donald

The first phrase of the song is in a very narrow range (only a major third), and suddenly, using the fifth as a stepping stone, we leap more than an octave up to 'Don-*ald*'. It is a startling leap, whether you have heard the song before or not, and it immediately grabs the attention, particularly as most singers gather themselves a little bit before such a leap, emphasising its drama. The jump is also quite hard to sing, reinforcing the idea that there is something a little special about this tune. In fact, there is very little special about the rest of the tune. Its grandeur, and characterisation as sweepin, relies on this one leap, this one phrase. I think this is probably how we always listen, caught by a 'hook': an interesting melodic or textual phrase, a turn, a chord progression, a chorus that gets our attention and gets stuck in our heads, much to the distress of our family and friends.

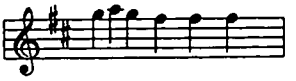
In summarising traditional singers' use of these qualitative words, let us say that they are used impressionistically, rather than rigidly. Yet I think they *can* be calibrated to specific melodic structures and melodic families that have the characteristics outlined above, particularly in the area of dramatic interval leaps.

MELODIC DECORATION

So far, I have discussed the overall arc or contour of a tune and its rendition. Moving on to descriptions of melodic decoration, that is the melodic adaptation that takes place on a micro level, within note phrases and pairs, let us consider the descriptions 'curly bits' and 'twiddly bits'. These decorations combine with tempo, attack, vibrato (ranging from true vibrato to what Hugh Shields calls glottal vibrato, or, less kindly, but accurately, bleating (1993: 122)) and, of course, an emotional commitment, to put what singers call 'hairt-feelin' into a song.

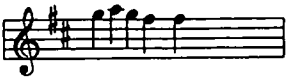
Curly bits and twiddly bits are as much an attitude as a musical feature in traditional singing. Here we tread on even less secure ground than we did with gran, sweepin and lilt, because where it exists at all, the vocabulary used to discuss melodic decoration, or ornamentation, is almost wholly individual to each singer. That is not to say that every singer uses entirely unique ornamental techniques, but that when we discuss them, the terms they use and what they mean by them are idiolectal in nature. My list, therefore, may be seen as a collection of words and phrases used, but not as a *universally* accepted vocabulary for use in discussion with each and every singer. It therefore behoves us to try to define the meanings of each of these terms for an individual and then try to group them in families of reference.

I will try to do that with Jane Turriff for the aforementioned curly bits, though Jane sings in a relatively undecorated style. She has said she prefers singing to accompaniment (usually her own on harmonium or accordion) as it 'draws oot' her singing. It allows her voice to soar, and take its time with certain notes, and thereby with the story itself. She does, however, sometimes put in turns, curly bits, perhaps more often when accompanied. At the end of the first verse of 'Ma Wee Doggie' (TURRIFF 1995), for example, we can hear a hint of these curly bits, a linear run up the melody line:



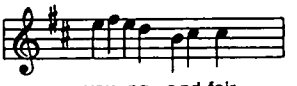
Music example 2: Ma wee d

Now this decoration is not truly *curly* in the sense of turning back on itself, but it does come under that heading for Jane and it gets one around the awkward, pedestrian progression of



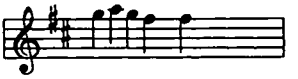
Music example 3: Ma wee d plain

For curly bits that really curl, we must look elsewhere, like the last line of a verse of 'Bonnie Udny' (TURRIFF 1995).



Music example 4: Bonnie Udny

This is a simple turn around the first note. Similar examples may be found in Elizabeth Stewart's 'In London Town' (STEWART 1993).



Music example 5: In London

(Notice the general tendency to avoid decorating over word boundaries.)

To go back to the idea of creating families of reference, then, we might place curly bits in a matrix something like this:

My term	Jane Turriff	Lizzie Higgins	Norman Kennedy	Elizabeth Stewart
grace notes (to be replaced with more specific terms as the project continues)	curly bits	curly bits	twiddly bits some sort o grace notes	grace notes decorations

My simple heading, grace notes, will be expanded in future work to delineate different types of decoration, such as those used to describe Irish instrumental ornamentation (e.g. cran). Such a chart could then be expanded to encompass a wide range of useful terms and ideas.

With this essay, I have tried to model an approach to eliciting native terms for melodic qualities and modes of decoration, as well as started to establish accurate and clear meanings for these terms. I have not properly tackled the question of key, minor or major, though I have made a start on finding native descriptors for them. Nor have I yet explored all the phrases I have heard, like 'aul fashioned' and 'singin wi nae taste or smell'. The examples discussed only scrape the surface; eventually I hope to correlate a range of native phrases for each phenomenon with the effects being described. The next stage will be to test these terms to be sure they accord with the singers' internal conceptualisations. Though song decoration and ornamentation are so idiosyncratic as to be difficult to discuss in general terms, I hope this work will create tools that enable us to discuss North East traditional singing styles in detail with those who know most about it, the singers themselves.

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"TWO MINSTRELS TOO MANY?": THE REMUNERATED MUSICIAN OF THE 16th CENTURY, FROM STATUS SYMBOL OF THE COURT TO SOCIAL OUTCAST

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Abstract: Contemporary sources use the word "minstrel" to describe a wide social range of musical entertainers. Legal and other documents of the period provide a rich social tapestry of these late medieval entertainers, and point to the beginnings of the schism between court and country and the attitude(s) of Tudor society/ies to those whom they paid to sing to them. The paper investigates how the minstrel's art was exploited and abused by non-minstrels, and how this contributed to the stigmatization of these "musical vagabonds".
Keywords: medieval singers, contemporary music

In the course of my research into the remunerated singer I became very interested in the idea of a possible connection between the dissolution of the monasteries and the sudden emergence of the minstrel as a member of the less desirable section of society. In the summer of 2000 I spent time in the Public Records Offices at Kew and in Somerset's county seat of Taunton, looking for some evidence that would support my hypothesis... unfortunately, without success. However, as happens so often in libraries and archives, I did accumulate sufficient information to put together some kind of picture of the minstrel's fall from favour.

Upon the dissolution of the monasteries there was a sudden overspill of ecclesiastics and lay hangers-on without any useful trade, religiously and hence politically undesirable, and without knowledge of the itinerant pedlars' infrastructure which, one suspects, then as now involved individuals with specific territorial 'patches' which rivals would have done well to avoid. From the Robin Hood ballads of an earlier age – but still popular with Elizabethan audiences, as can be inferred from the various references to Robin Hood in the works of Shakespeare[1] – we have evidence of the fact that the pedlar, whose way of life required it, was often more than capable of self-defence, and that homeless men of all kinds grouped together in bands for reasons of either defence or attack (or both). The expelled monastic was thrust suddenly into this world where one had to fend for oneself in order to survive. It is even possible that he operated as a disseminator of Catholic sentiment in the guise of a balladeer, as was later the case with Richard Cropland, "seized in Leices-

[1] For instance, in Hamlet, IV. v., Ophelia in her madness sings of "Bonny sweet Robin".

ter around the time of the Gunpowder Plot, [who] catered for the recusant market"[2], or the balladeers of whom officials in Commonwealth England complained.

Previously, the people dwelling inside the monasteries would have encountered the travelling salesmen of their day, if only to feed them when hungry or tend them when sick, so we cannot say that they were totally ignorant of them. I am convinced that there were those of them who eventually joined them on the muddy or dusty roads of the country to provide themselves with the barest of livings. However, to date I have been unable to discover any proof of such a change in lifestyle, and such proof is exceedingly difficult to come by. Clues would be most likely found in records of criminal misdemeanor. Unfortunately, the Calendars of Assize Records only date from the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, published in 1837 and edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, contain no information referring to singing priests during the reign of Henry VIII, although we do find that immediately after the dissolution 'prist parsonnes' were both accused and acquitted of uttering 'sundry traitorous wordes,' as occurred in the case of Sir Robert Moore, who upon March 3, 1541 was 'apprehended and comytted to sure and safe custodie' at Hampton Court, but released on the eighteenth day of the same month as the accusation was ruled slanderous, and the culprit, one Thomas Dawes, sentenced either to public forgiveness in the parish church or to a day in the pillory upon the nearest market day[3]. There is also mention of a "vagabonde, presented by the Constable of Howslow to the Cownsail for certayne seditious words...conmitted to the sayede Cownstable, to be had agayne to Hownslow, and there to be whipped," but apart from his being a vagabond we know nothing further of him. He could have been a disenfranchised priest, a ballad seller, or one of a host of any number of people lumped together under the Tudor vagrancy acts.

The credentials for these new ex-monastic vagrants for becoming budding ballad sellers were at least twofold. They were literate and they were accustomed to singing at length. While they were already officially *persona non grata*, they had many supporters dotted about. The suspicions of the authorities about the ballad singer as propagandist would hardly have been credible without some truth appertaining to the matter. What better butt of suspicion and phobic fear than the homeless pamphleteering evicted papist? Of such suspicion there is evidence in documents such as the legislation suggested after the events of 1569, which states that "learned itinerants were natural suspects, because of their education and travels to the continent: after the rebellion of 1569 a bill was proposed against disguised priests."[4] However, further research elsewhere will be necessary in order to ascertain whether what seems to be a logical assumption can indeed be backed up by hard proof.

If so far it has been impossible to uncover information related to the breadwinning activities of dispossessed brethren, there has at least been the satisfaction of discovering a great deal more about the status of the much-maligned minstrel. The

[2] BEIER 1985: 92–3.
[3] NICOLAS 1837: (no page nos.) Acts of Privy Council 1540–1542.
[4] BEIER 1985: 102–3.

suggestion that has often come up is that by the second half of the 16th century the social position of the minstrel had already sunk considerably. Tessa Watt states that

> "The term 'minstrel' did not mean the same thing in 1570 as it had a century earlier. Puttenham's derogatory attitude to 'taverne minstrels that give a fit of mirth for a groat' bears witness to the sixteenth-century descent of the 'minstrel' from respected professional musician to the status of vagabond. The official seal on this debasement was Elizabeth's statute of 1572, which applied the vagrancy laws to all 'common players in interludes and minstrels' who were not under aristocratic or royal patronage. There had always been a hierarchy of music makers, based on both patronage and skill, from the king's trumpeters down through the minstrels attached to noble households to the independent wayfarers. However, by the sixteenth century there was another factor: musical literacy. To merit the newer respectable term 'musician', one now had to be able to read music, to sing as well as to play, to teach wealthy amateurs, and even to compose part-music for domestic recreation." (WATT 1991: 15).

However, the situation is rather more complex, for although it is true that minstrels *were* sliding down the social ladder at this time, there was no such clear distinction between those minstrels with and those without patronage of some kind as Watt suggests. The records of early English drama compiled by the team at Toronto University provide us with a rich selection of information from which to sift out the status of freelance minstrels and balladeers. It can be stated fairly safely that Elizabethan contemporaries used the word minstrel to cover a wide variety of musicians, and that the word can be found just as frequently in a positive as in a negative context. The wealth of instances where musicians have been at odds with the authorities is such that for the sake of practicality I have confined myself to those recorded in the county of Somerset. I have collated all examples of musicians of one kind or another, but especially of minstrels and waits, who seem to have been interchangeable in their vocal function except that whereas minstrels have been recorded both in the singular and the plural, waits unsurprisingly appear exclusively in the plural, their musical form essentially being that of part-singing.

It would appear especially justified to place the waits and minstrels in one category if one of the hallmarks of the itinerant musician is his shady character. Volume II of *Records of Early Drama: Somerset* provides a long list stretching from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the end of the second third of the fifteenth century:

> "The earliest references to local waits and musicians appear in the patent rolls between 1314 and 1568. Many of the waits before 1350 were probably watchmen, not performers... They include the son of

> Henry le Wayt, given a licence to convey lands and properties in Bathwick (1314); Richard le Pipere... mentioned as one of a group who assaulted a man at Thurlbear, near Taunton, and carried away his goods (1338); Stephen le Harpour, charged with others for carrying away goods and documents from Compton Bishop, near Axbridge (1340); Richard Wayte, pardoned for acquiring for life, without licence, a mill in Frome that was held by the Crown (1373); John Gouer, singer, of Huish by Highbridge (near Burnham) and Huntspill, pardoned for several felonies (1453); Thomas Briker, harp-maker, parish uncertain but named among a group from Wells and Glastonbury whose arrest was ordered for counterfeiting the king's money (1468)" (501–2).

From the above it can be gleaned that, far from the status of musicians sinking in the latter years of the sixteenth century, there had always been a section of the "trade" who had lived at least partially outside of the law. Presumably the shady activities of many went no further than those of our modern-time internationally peripatetic busker, who pays no man tax but who is subsequently debarred from, for instance, making claims for unemployment benefit or health aid. Others were out-and-out criminals for whom musical performance was little more than a front to gain access and win confidence. It cannot be said that the sixteenth century, and especially the second part of it, was socially responsible for the decline in the minstrel, but that the various categories both of musician and of audience became better defined. Furthermore, a sudden increase in the number of itinerant musicians, actors and other wayfaring salesmen, proven by the necessity to introduce under Elizabeth and James legislation restricting their activities and numbers, resulted in a decline in quality at the lower end of the spectrum similar to that experienced in domestic service in the nineteenth century, when it was the second largest work category overall and the outright largest among the female sex. In short, the sixteenth-century authorities tried to do something about what is saw as being the "minstrel problem".

First of all, it will be instructive for us to recognize that while the musicians themselves were evidently seen to be instigators of ungodly behaviour, it is evident that in a time of religious uncertainty, the people who had just survived life under a zealous Catholic queen and who were now learning to live under a Protestant one, some people preferred to choose the non-religious option, and performers were equally happy to earn something by gratifying them with music. The existence of legislation punishing a particular activity is always proof of the existence of such an activity. Thus the case at Bleadon on July 8, 1586:

> "in the tyme of the sermon, ther was pyping tabering & [day] dancing and wold not come to the sermon nether"[5]

[5] STOKES 1996: 40.

In the Bridgwater Quarter Sessions Order Book for 1595, a certain "Iohannes fulbrooke" is recorded as having to appear before the courts "for playing vnlawfull games & keepinge night watch in his howse with daunsinge on holydays". The accusation in the 1593/4 Ex Officio Act Book of Butcombe against a fiddler for tempting people away from church is explicit:

> "for withdrawing of the parishoners there from divine service being a fidler"

but the very staff of the church were also to be found wanting in their devotion. Such were the vicar of Pilton in 1586 or 1587, and later, in 1610, the churchwarden of Farleigh Hungerford:

> "Item presentatur for that the vicar hath made rymes and lewd songes and deliverid thm vnto others to be songe to the great discontentment of the people"[6]

> "Hee being a churchwarden is a common player att bowles on the sabbaoth day and that hee is a keeper of brawling & swearing companie and minstrelsye & dauncing in his howse & daunceth himself on sabbaoth & holye dayes"[7]

Age-old customs, that special English blend of paganism and Christianity, were difficult to stamp out. The Glastonbury Official Principal's Act Book for 1580 reveals that

> "contra Edwardum Cooper et Thomam Nicholes gardianos the regester booke is not kept according as yt ought to be and they kept the church ale vppon the saboth daie with the Morysh daunce coming into the church" (129)

Such phenomena as the inclusion in church ritual of the pagan Morris dance were reasonably commonplace.[8] So, it would appear, was the use of the local cemetery as a rendezvous for non-religious purposes, as occurred, according to the Frome Bishop's Court Deposition Book for 1580, when

> "he this deponent and Iohn Lewes his precontest [⟨...⟩ weare coming] ... from mr Kirkes howse ... in ffrome through the churchyard of the saide parish about seuen of the clocke in the evening

[6] STOKES 1996: 206.

[7] STOKES 1996: 118.

[8] And, indeed, have been resurrected at modern Morris get-togethers, such as the Morris weekend at Thaxted every year in June, with the cooperation of the village minister. The Abbots Bromley horn dance is another vestigial pagan ritual that has been reawakened in a tolerant age.

> and as they passed through the churchyard they found a minstrell plaing in the churchyard vppon a rebick hauing many youths about him" (121)

Apart from the sheer fact of the evening tryst, we are incidentally informed that the minstrel in question was at least sufficiently talented to perform upon the rebec, and that his entertainment had sufficient charm to entice the youths to risk discovery in the cemetery, which might well have earned them a whipping or time in the pillory, the most common minor punishments.

At the same time, the authorities did not outlaw the minstrels entirely, and indeed remunerated them for their services when they were carried out appropriately. Entries for the various common and water bailiffs of Bridgwater show payments to minstrels between 1495 and 1561. Tellingly, while the earlier entries refer to minstrels attached to noble households ("Item more payd to the Eryll off Arondellis mynstrellis" (Water Bailiffs' Accounts 1495–6)[9]; "Item Payd to my lord of derby ys mynstrellys in Monay & and wyne" (Common Bailiffs' Accounts 1503–4)[10]), the latter ones refer to a single "mynstryll in master myeor howsse the second day of febvarye" (Water Bailiffs' Accounts 1557–8)[11] and remuneration for "ij mynstrells at Crismas" (Water Bailiffs' Accounts, December 25th, 1561–March 25th, 1562)[12].

Unfortunately, no fee or venue is specified for the two minstrels performing as part of the municipal Christmas, or we would have additional important information as to whether their services were better or worse-paid than that of the single musician who was paid five shillings in 1558, three years earlier. However, we have far more complete records from the St. Mary's Churchwardens' Accounts of the village of Yatton. In the years 1521–2, 1528–9, 1530–1, 1531–2, 1532–3, 1533–4, 1534–5 and 1535–6 there are entries for an "Item paid to a mynnystrelle / mynstrelle / mynstrell / mynstrele / mynstrell / mynstrel.[13] Far from going out of fashion, between 1536–46 groups of players are commissioned, with the exception of 1542, when again a solitary musician is paid to perform, as is the case between 1536–46 and in 1559, with the plural used in the 1558–9 accounts, which are for February–March. However, the fee is sometimes mentioned as being for "Wyttsontyd." Was payment so late?

As to how much the musicians were paid for their services, the amount is either very rhapsodic, or else there was a great discrepancy amongst the calibres of the

[9] STOKES 1996: 41.
[10] STOKES 1996: 42.
[11] STOKES 1996: 47.
[12] STOKES 1996: 47.
[13] The entries also display the gradual simplification of spelling throughout the sixteenth century. By 1536 the spelling has become very close to the modern *minstrel*. The phenomenon is that more exciting, as my research has shown that for the period in question there are at most three distinguishable handwritings: half the number of the spellings of the word. More research will be required before it can be stated that spelling was not only experimental in the 16th century, but also a matter of taste; in other words, spelling became a personal cultural decision based, among other factors, visual pleasure at one's creative work.

performance, reflected in the remuneration. The minstrel of 1521–2 received twelve pence. The complete list of payments for solitary performers can be seen in the table below.

Although rough-and-ready, the chart shows that there were considerable differences in payments accorded to the musicians for their services. It does not, however, reflect any significant progression down the social scale. While it is true that by far the highest payment was given to the 1531–2 performer, the third highest was received in 1559–60, the last year of the study.

Year of Account Book	Payment received	Position in payment league table*
1521–1522	12d.	13
1528–1529	12d.	14
1530–1531	2s. 8d.	12
1531–1532	13s. 4d.	1
1532–1533	6s. 0d.	8
1533–1534	8s. 0d.	5
1534–1535	9s. 0d.	4
1535–1536	10s. 0d.	2
1542–1543	5s. 0d.	10
1546–1547	6s. 0d.	9
1547–1548	6s. 8d.	6
1555–1556	5s.0d.	11
1557–1558	6s. 8d.	7
1559–1560	10s. 0d.	3

*The chart does not take into consideration the inflation rate of the forty years covered in the accounts. However, where minstrels receive the same amount for different years, the earlier year receives a higher rating.

Not all minstrels were peripatetic, as can be seen in the cases of John Huishe of Litton and John Webbe of Blagdon described by Stokes. The latter was a carpenter who evidently earned some extra income by appearing at local weddings and other local festivities (484). However, being a local does not seem to have exempted him from suspicion, for in the 1573–4 Bishop's Court Deposition Book for Blagdon we can read a testimony to Webbe's good character – sure proof of suspicion that it was not:

> "he this deponent hathe knowen Iohn Webbe articulate by the space of iij or fower yeares laste paste whoe is a mynstrell and a Carpynter duering which space of ... iiij yeares this deponent soundrie tymes and yn sundrye places hathe ben yn the companie of the same Iohn webbe at weddinges and other merrie meetinges of neighbors. But he sayethe he neuer sawe or knewe the said Iohn webb drunk or otherwise to behaue hym selfe then becommethe an honest man."

Neither was the population blameless in their relationship with their occasional entertainers. A 1614 entry in the Ex Officio Act Book for Old Cleeve reveals a case against a certain Gregorium Hobbs "ffor keepeing minstrells in his howse drincking on the saboth day att the time of divine prayer," and we have already seen how John Fulbrooke chose to amuse himself on the sabbath. At the same time, local authorities were ready to comprehend that singing and playing upon instruments were a means of income that would release them from some of the burden of the poor laws that caused them as much of a headache as the legislation against vagrancy. The Accounts of Collectors for the Poor tell how at the turn of the 16th–17th century the blind harper Edward Edwardes was given clothing for himself and ten shillings to teach the blind youth Hopkins "to play on the harpe for his better mayntenance"[14]. The tactic is reminiscent of tactics by present British governments to solve unemployment through retraining rather than by hand-outs.

The extraordinary exhibitionism of a mid-17th-century performer shows that at least some of the suspicions surrounding the breed were founded upon experience. A certain Henricum Pillchorne was charged with dancing

> "with his britches downe about his heeles in the house of one Iohn Chute de eadem, and did shew his privie members vnto the companie most vncivillie there being then many women present, and said he did daunce Piddecocke bolt upright, and readie to fight" (60)

Amusing it might be to read more than 360 years later; yet society still does not readily condone such ribald behaviour. However, the complaint of Oliver Chiver of Brislington in 1636 to no lesser personage than the Archbishop Laud shows that society, and even law, was divided as regards their attitude towards musical entertainment, even on a Sunday:

> "Item that Cowling... together with Moggs the then reputed churchwarden inhibited the young people theire lawfull sport after evening prayer, although they were orderly, & had beene at prayer before, being whitsunday and Moggs sett the musitians by the heeles, yet they suffer vnlawfull gaming & tipling almost euery Sunday & present not any for the same" (61)

However, not all men in authority were such hard-liners. Magistrates were apparently aware of the fact that they provided a sought-for service that was enjoyed by a large section of the community across the board, from the common village folk through to the country aristocracy. In other words, while a minstrel was punished for committing a crime, he was not necessarily hounded and punished for the mere fact

[14] STOKES 1996: 57 and 502.

that he was a minstrel – although he might well be. One presumes that wanderers of all kinds knew which settlements were sympathetic and which were best given a wide berth. These were often identifiable by their religious affiliation, but as the following account demonstrates communities were not so clear-cut in their preference of sect:

> "A controversy over a Christmas entertainment in a house at Compton Pauncefoot in 1605 caused a major confrontation between the Gilberts (a famous Catholic family) and the Hastingses, together with their respective allies from numerous parishes un east Somerset." (454)

Performers resident in the area often received kinder treatment than their peripatetic counterparts:

> "Several justices quietly refused to prosecute local minstrels... thereby seeming to confirm the view that recusant conservatism was becoming centred in country houses" (ibid.)

The employment of minstrels, morris dancers and the like, either on the sabbath day or even as part of the church ritual, was more than a mere backsliding from religious observance. It demonstrates a number of changes in society. First of all, there was the crucial social change whereby at least some of the population was alternately confused and educated out of belief. In an atmosphere where believers of any colour were likely to become martyrs, it was quite possibly safer to practice atheism, an option hitherto lacking – unless you wanted to be burnt as a heretic! By the 16th century, it would appear that atheism was at least tolerated alongside the Christian alternatives, for the dramatist Christopher Marlowe is not only known to have voiced atheistic views, but at the same time to have been in the employ of the state as a spy.[15] But even among believers, there was a social divide. Catholicism had behind it centuries of experience in the toleration of pagan or vestigially pagan social rituals. In contrast, Protestantism was new and 'pure'. Revelry in general it scorned and considered ungodly, although there was not so much purging and purification in Elizabeth's reign as would follow in the first half of the seventeenth century. Morrill, in his chapter on the Stuarts[16], states how maypole dancing returned in 1660 to the villages of rural England almost as quickly as Charles II himself returned to the country to take the crown.

One cannot place the blame entirely upon the remunerated minstrels and broadside singers. Lewdness was a part of the times, for all that – or because – the more zealous authorities attempted to clamp down on it. In 1586 (?) in the Bishop's Court Deposition Book for West Pennard, we read of a deposition brought against two local women of unknown age for singing a bawdy song:

[15] HARVEY 1973: 518.
[16] STOKES 345.

> "betwene easter and whitsontyde last past this deponent goinge in companie with Agnes Gee and Isabell Cooke dwellinge within the said parishe to geither rushes against whitsontyde the said Isabell Cooke songe a certaine ballade which was a verie badd and lewde thinge not to be heard of any body for that it was an abhominable thinge and toulde the said Isabell that that she might either vse better songes than those or ells to sing none at all very for shame" (390)

Isabel had learnt the "bad and lewd" ballad by heart, but it was in circulation in written form as well, for the yeoman William Warner, sick and confined to bed, had obtained a copy and read it aloud to others. Perhaps we find here an early example of the philosophy encapsulated in Thomas D'Urfey's (1653–1723) much later "Wit and Mirth, or Pills to purge Melancholy," published in 1719.

A phenomenon that was becoming increasingly common was the use of the ballad form to publicly defame one's enemies or rivals. The Records of Early English Drama for Somerset provide a detailed account of the lawsuit between John Hole, a constable of the cathedral town of Wells who in 1608 had attempted to ban the traditional May games, and a group of local people who began to lampoon the constable and his friends in the entertainments provided by the various town guilds in June. Hole evidently not having broad shoulders protested vehemently instead of laughing at himself as the butt of humour, his opponents went so far as to compose, print and widely circulate "two libellous songs directed against Hole and friends" (596). The resultant lawsuit, which took place in the Star Chamber, lasted from April 1608 until November 1609, and involved scores of depositions, hundreds of sheets of paper, and a long list of punishments meted out to the perpetrators. The Hole case was only one of many, but this one escalated out of all proportion, with accusations on both sides.

It was as these scurrilous libels in written ballad form became ever more common that the status of the minstrel profession began to decline. Another interesting phenomenon occurred. While the singing of ballads had been held in respect, it had provided income and patronage for a group of professionals and semi-professionals who enjoyed some degree of status. The profession gradually lost that status in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – the very centuries in which vast quantities of new material were composed. It was, perhaps, the glut that induced the rot. But the reasons were many and various. Aristocracy was no longer the sole patron of the entertainer, as is evidenced above by references to local councils paying musicians, not only to perform but also to take on apprentices who would then relieve them of payment in accordance with the poor laws introduced between 1531 and 1601[17]. This

[17] At the time of implementation these were ungenerous; as the seventeenth century progressed they became ever less efficient, and by the mid-eighteenth century, when they were still the only – if modified – legislation offering any kind of relief to the poor, they were practically useless – hardly surprising when the motivation for their being passed was based on fear rather than humanitarianism. (BRIGGS 1987: 125–127; MORGAN 1993: 276).

non-gentry layer – the "little tradition", as it is referred to – was by the seventeenth century itself becoming more diverse, one of its breakaway markers being "the division between 'rough' and 'respectable' ... parish elites below the level of the gentry were drawing apart from the traditional world of popular culture".[18] BARRY divides the Sunday activities of the respectable and the rough into their respective environments, and also touches upon the encroachment of the written word upon an earlier, non-literate culture:

> "Sunday was officially set aside for the whole household to listen to readings from religious works. Another centre where reading was possible was the alehouse; it was a place of leisure where ballads and other forms of print were often available. Almost all these settings involved experience of the printed word as part of an oral culture, read or sung aloud and shared with others – including the illiterate"[19]

INGRAM, in the same collection of essays, points out that the period was also the earliest when popular culture came under the threat of mass culture. His description of the interaction of the two is worth setting down, for while it does not entirely sit easily over what we have come to think of popular and mass culture in 20th-century terms, it is nonetheless useful:

> "From about 1500 to 1800 the world of popular culture came under attack from elite groups (clergy, nobility, and some middle-class groups in town and country) who gradually attenuated and transformed many aspects of social life among the mass of the people. This 'reform of popular culture' combined to attempts to suppress many popular activities and to modify the behaviour of the common people... sponsoring... a new 'popular' or 'mass' culture which embodied the ideologies of the ruling classes"[20]

The social and economic conditions of itinerant musicians were, although sometimes acceptable, nearly always precarious, and often downright dangerous. Their position in the sixteenth century did not change for the better in the subsequent one, as other examples and Spufford's investigations demonstrate. This did not result in a decrease but rather in an augmentation of their number, for the sale of ballads was a means of income which the poorest and most degraded resorted to. It should be kept in mind that these street vendors sold not only ballads but other cheap published printed matter, mostly of a journalistic nature, and that many of the ballads themselves continued to be accepted as containing newsworthy information,

[18] REAY (ed.) 1985: 12.
[19] BARRY in REAY (ed.) 1985: 68.
[20] INGRAM in REAY (ed.) 1985: 129–130.

just as the singer-songwriter composer-minstrel had sung the Agincourt Carol in 1415 at least until its newsworthiness had trickled down to an unprofitable level. Their social, economic and popular status can be ranked with modern-day news vendors – low earners in poor working conditions believed to be loosely connected with one, the other, or both sides of the law.

As for the creators of the broadsheet ballads, DUGAW's statement that "Elizabethan balladmakers were a particularly diverse lot" who only "turned to songwriting either when they needed money or were roused to ballad polemic," not really minding whether knocking together "love lyrics, drinking songs, effusions of patriotic sentiment, moralistic warnings, biting and comical satires" or "journalistic reports of sensational and timely events[21]", is probably as fair as any, although, as has been pointed out above in the extraordinary case of the constable Hole, it should be remembered that ballad-writing was also exploited as a means of defaming one's enemies, in which case neither profit nor poesy were main motives.

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[21] DUGAW 1989: 24.

COMPTINES DE DENTELLIÈRES BRUGEOISES (1730–1850): ENTRE TRAVAIL, ÉCOLE ET JEU, COLÈRE ET PRIÈRE[1]

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Abstract: *Worksongs of Lacemakers of Bruges (1730–1850)* – The present contribution pursues our investigation of Lootens and Feys's *Chants populaires flamands,* a published collection of Flemish popular songs transcribed in texts and music from the lips of a middle-class lady born in Bruges in 1795. Besides 161 „chants populaires" of all categories (religious, mystical, tragic, comic, etc.), this corpus includes a minor portion of texts, particularly fragmented and without music, presented as „poésies populaires diverses". These are lacemakers' worksongs, learned in the lady's early years as a pupil at one of the workshop-schools, then common throughout Flanders. Besides attesting the collectors and/or the editor's modern folklore concept, the presence of these songs in the collection – the earliest sources for *tellingen* in Flemish tradition – allows a rare understanding of their meanings as a specific song category as well as of their interrelationships with the song tradition in local culture. Pervading their diversity of form and character, these 21 pieces demonstrate a dynamic network of meanings and functions in relation to the technical as well as socio-economic aspects of lacemaking. These insider songs of the lacemakers of Bruges demonstrate how poetic rhythm and expression transformed the tedious reality of their work through play (aural, verbal and dramatic) providing for mental and spiritual development as well as for social and emotional *re-creation* on the job.

Keywords: Flemish folk songs, lacemakers, worksongs, verbal play

Ce qui suit constitue le troisième volet d'une étude en cours consacrée au recueil de Lootens et Feys, *Chants Populaires Flamands* (LOOTENS et FEYS 1990)[2]. Un premier regard s'est attaché à la genèse de la collection et aux qualités scientifiques qui lui valurent sa prestigieuse publication, d'abord comme *Annales de la Société d'Emulation pour servir à l'étude de l'Histoire et des Antiquités de la Flandre 1878* et l'année suivante comme volume autonome (PEERE 2000 et 2001a). Fut abordée ensuite l'analyse des pièces diverses (religieuses, morales, narratives, comiques et satiriques) qui, avec les chansons enfantines, constituent les «chants populaires» et la majeure partie du recueil (PEERE 2001b).

Le présent propos concerne les quelqu'autres pièces de ce corpus, réunies en fin de volume sous la rubrique distincte de «poésies populaires diverses». Lootens–Feys s'en expliquent:

[1] Je remercie Roger Pinon et Stefaan Top de l'aide experte et généreuse qu'ils m'ont apportée au cours de cette étude; le premier dans la recherche et la mise à disposition de sources personnelles diverses, et le second dans l'élucidation du sens de certains mots et vers des pièces concernées.

[2] Les renvois bibliographiques au recueil de LOOTENS et FEYS sont indiqués ci-après par l'abréviation (L–F) suivie du numéro d'ordre de la pièce dans le recueil et/ou de pages des extraits cités.

> Sous le titre de poésies diverses, on trouvera un certain nombre de pièces connues à Bruges sous le nom général de *tellingen*. On appelle ainsi des poésies populaires, dont les mélodies originales sont oubliées ou perdues, et qui se chantent à peu près toutes sur un même air non rhythmé et très-monotone. (L–F v)

Le terme flamand de *telling*, nous disent-ils, a la double signification de récit et de comptage, pareil à ses équivalents français (*comptine*), allemand (*Erzählriem*) et anglais (*tell*); de là,

> les *tellingen* servaient à supputer le nombre des mailles faites par les dentellières dans la confection de la dentelle, dite *annouwsel*, très en vogue à la fin du siècle dernier et au commencement du siècle actuel. Pendant le temps nécessaire à la récitation d'un vers, la dentellière faisait une maille et la maintenait par une épingle. Le nombre de vers débités déterminait ainsi le nombre de mailles ou des épingles. (L–F vi)

Il s'agit donc de *rhythmic work songs*[3] accompagnant la confection artisanale de la dentelle aux fuseaux, jadis omniprésente en Flandre, belge comme française. Comme *insider songs,* les *tellingen* sont les témoins directs de cette industrie exclusivement féminine et les premiers recueillis pour la tradition flamande.[4] Leur présence dans *Chants Populaires Flamands* nous permet d'épingler un mérite particulier de cette collection ancienne mais de conception étonnement moderne.

L'HEUREUSE INCLUSION DES *TELLINGEN* DANS LE RECUEIL

Rappelons que *Chants Populaires Flamands* est essentiellement constitué d'un répertoire individuel, auquel Lootens et Feys ont cru bon d'ajouter quelques pièces courantes de sorte à livrer un témoignage représentatif de la tradition chantée de la ville de Bruges, la leur (L–F ii–iv). Le résultat en est ce recueil de 161 chansons, transcrites en textes et en mélodies, de façon rigoureuse et exhaustive. Celle qui a transmis la majeure partie de ce corpus (et qui en toute vraisemblance n'est autre que la mère de Lootens), nous est présentée comme «une dame d'une intelligence remarquable, douée d'une excellente mémoire, possédant le sentiment de la mélodie et du rhythme, avec un goût prononcé pour les chansons», et qui «a su retenir à peu

[3] Selon le terme utilisé par Gerald Porter dans son ouvrage de référence sur les chansons ayant trait au travail professionnel (PORTER 1992:11).

[4] La collection de BLYAU et TASSEEL, recueillie des lèvres de deux femmes du peuple de la région d'Ypres et de Poperinge au début du 20ème siècle, constitue à ce jour la source majeure du répertoire des dentellières flamandes.

près tout ce qu'elle a entendu.» Pour toute autre précision, il nous est révélé que «née en Bruges en 1795 de parents brugeois, elle a conservé dans son souvenir tous les morceaux que, dans son enfance chantaient son père et sa mère, et ceux qui étaient sans cesse répétés dans les écoles dentellières.» (L–F iii–iv)

Voilà qui explique, parmi toutes les autres catégories de chansons de ce répertoire, la présence également de chants propres aux dentellières; considérant l'avertissement que nous donnent les collectionneurs à propos de la nature et, pire encore, de l'état de conservation de ce matériau, sa publication force l'admiration:

> Au premier aspect, ces compositions sont d'une bizarrerie et d'une incohérence inexplicable, et l'on se demande si ce n'est pas là une espèce de défi porté au sens commun. Toutefois, après un examen plus attentif, on reste convaincu que ces *tellingen* sont un assemblage de fragments réunis au hasard, et provenant de pièces satiriques, de chansons profanes, de légendes religieuses ou historiques, d'hymnes de l'Eglise et de croyances superstitieuses. Ce qui confirme cette supposition, c'est que, en analysant certains *tellingen* qui se chantent encore aujourd'hui dans les environs de Bruges, nous y avons rencontré beaucoup de fragments de chansons qui figurent dans la première partie du volume. C'est pour ce motif, et à la demande expresse de plusieurs savants, que nous nous sommes décidés à donner ces productions singulières. (L–F vii–viii)

Ce sont ces quelques pièces, aux textes incohérents et aux mélodies perdues, qui de la perspicacité de Lootens et Feys et/ou de la Société d'Emulation, sans doute, offrent le témoignage le plus révélateur. Citons encore qu'

> en le [le recueil] publiant, leur but [des éditeurs] est purement scientifique et archéologique, et c'est à ce titre principalement que l'ouvrage a été accepté par la Société d'Émulation de Bruges, toujours disposée à encourager les publications de nature à jeter du jour sur l'histoire nationale. Quelques pièces paraîtront peut-être un peu frivoles; d'autres paraîtront bien frustres, bien usées; on sera tenté de n'y voir que des fragments insignifiants et méconnaissables. A cela, nous répondrons que, sans nous préoccuper de la beauté des formes et sans nous montrer, pour le fond, d'un rigorisme exagéré, nous avons accueilli à peu près tout ce qui s'est présenté, de même que, dans les musées d'antiquités, on ne recueille pas seulement les œuvres réellement belles, mais encore les figures grimaçantes et les types grotesques. Quant aux fragments, ils ont leur importance: ajoutés à d'autres que l'on pourra découvrir dans la suite, ils ne seront pas sans quelque utilité. (L–F ii)

LES *TELLINGEN* DANS LE CONTEXTE DES ATELIERS-ECOLES DE BRUGES

Lootens et Feys nous éclairent sur le contexte dans lequel cette «dame de la bonne bourgeoisie» locale à fait siennes ces *insider songs*, témoins de «shared, class-internal experience» (PORTER 1992:14) aux côtés de comparses de condition plus modeste. Ils expliquent qu'à l'époque de sa prime enfance, il n'y avait pas d'écoles gardiennes à Bruges, de sorte que

> les jeunes enfants des deux sexes étaient envoyés aux écoles ou ouvroirs de filles. Là, dans les vastes salles, ils occupaient la place laissée libre derrière les travailleuses d'où on leur donnait le nom caractéristique de *achterzitters* (assis par derrière). La monotonie des occupations auxquelles se livraient les ouvrières, était rompue par la prière, l'enseignement de la doctrine chrétienne et le chant. Il y avait en outre, soir et matin, une heure de silence pendant laquelle on apprenait aux plus jeunes les prières, l'alphabet et plus ou moins la lecture.
>
> Les enfants des classes aisées étaient aussi envoyés à ces écoles; à l'époque où nous parlons les filles apprenaient volontairement un métier. Quant à la fille de l'artisan, parvenue à l'âge de six ou sept ans, elle s'engageait à travailler pendant cinq ans, terme nécessaire à l'apprentissage d'un métier, pour le compte de la maîtresse de l'ouvroir. Souvent, elle prolongeait son séjour à l'école jusqu'à sa quinzième ou seizième année. Après avoir entendu chanter pendant trois ou quatre ans, matin et soir, les mêmes morceaux, elle les chantait elle-même sous la surveillance jalouse d'ouvrières plus âgées, qui n'auraient pas souffert la plus légère altération dans le débit. (L–F vi–vii)

Et les collectionneurs d'ajouter:

> Ceci explique comment certains *tellingen*, malgré leur manque absolu de liaison, ont pu arriver jusqu'à nous. [...] Telles qu'elles sont, elles [ces productions singulières] remontent par une tradition ininterrompue, jusque vers 1730, sans qu'aucun changement appréciable y ait été apporté depuis. (L–F vii et viii)

L'évocation du cadre dans lequel cette dame, enfant, apprit les chansons propres au métier laisse quelque doute toutefois sur son propre statut et, les choses étant liées, la durée de son passage dans ces écoles. Pour avoir chanté de mémoire les 942 vers au total de ces 21 *tellingen,* n' aurait-elle vraiment fréquenté ces écoles que jusqu'à l'âge de six ou sept ans? Ou, si elle y a fait son apprentissage jusqu'à l'adolescence, cette jeune fille bien née aurait-elle été soumise au même régime de travail

et de production intense, au prix duquel les filles d'artisans apprenaient un métier pour assurer leur subsistance?

Voici ce qu'on en sait.[5] Mis à part les orphelinats et hospices pour les plus pauvres, l'éducation des filles de l'époque était privée. En effet, jusqu'à la fin du 18ème siècle, toute personne à Bruges, à condition d'être de moralité irréprochable et d'appartenir à l'église catholique, était habilitée à prendre chez elle des élèves en apprentissage. Les «maîtresses d'école» étaient tenues seulement d'annoncer la nature de leur enseignement (lecture, écriture, travaux féminins ou l'un et l'autre) par une enseigne, de façon à permettre le contrôle (sous l'autorité de l'évêque) du respect de l'obligation à laquelle elles étaient soumises de conduire leurs élèves au catéchisme. Les parents se liaient avec la maîtresse par un contrat individuel qui déterminait la durée de l'apprentissage et éventuellement le revenu du travail que réalisaient les enfants, une fois déduits le prix de leurs fournitures et le salaire de la maîtresse. Ce placement en apprentissage faisait donc particulièrement l'affaire des parents de condition modeste.

Les «maîtresses d'écoles» étaient en grand nombre à Bruges, et cette forte concurrence ne leur assurait généralement qu'un revenu précaire. Elles poussaient donc la productivité, ce qui amenait l'école à se confondre avec un atelier, et attirait des dentellières de tout âge. La maîtresse vendait leur production au marchand par le biais d'un intermédiaire qui était à la fois fournisseur et commanditeur, ce qui en fin de compte laissait aux dentellières elles-mêmes un salaire des plus bas. Gagne-pain des pauvres, alors en grand nombre dans une Flandre essentiellement rurale, et salaire d'appoint pour les femmes du peuple, la dentelle était aussi art d'agrément pour les privilégiées. Car, si les travaux d'aiguille constituaient l'essentiel de l'éducation féminine, la dentelle était signe de luxe et de raffinement au delà même de la broderie. A côté du linge de maison et d'église, elle assurait la parure vestimentaire de la maîtresse de maison de qualité.

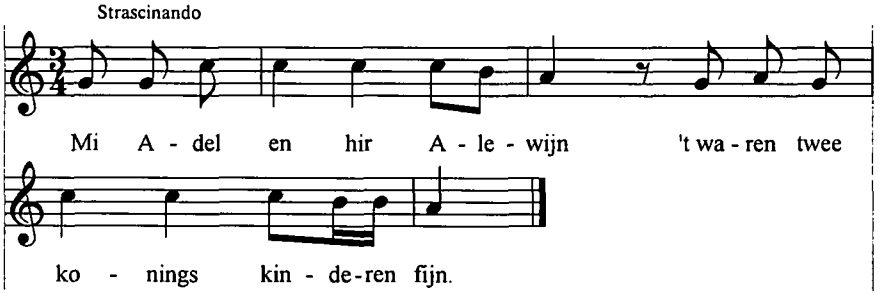
LA FONCTION RYTHMIQUE DES *TELLINGEN*

Les commentateurs de comptines de dentellières, flamandes et autres, s'accordent à en expliquer la nature et la fonction en rapport direct avec le travail que leur chant accompagnait (BRUGGEMAN 1985: 294). Il est un fait que, si les dentellières avaient à leur répertoire bien d'autres chansons, pour la plupart ordinaires, elles ne chantaient leurs comptines qu'en pratiquant leur activité. Certes, l'explication de Lootens et Feys comme quoi les *tellingen* étaient chantés quasi tous sur «un même air non rhythmé et très-monotone» en accompagnement de la confection d'un type de dentelle particulier (*annouwsel*) suggère que leurs emprunts textuels et mélodiques furent adaptés à la nature spécifique de ce travail. Il semble que ce rythme

[5] Les explications suivantes en rapport avec l'enseignement de la dentelle à Bruges au cours des siècles passés sont principalement tirées des ouvrages et études de BRUGGEMAN, DE SMET et WARMOES.

régulier pouvait varier en fonction du type de dentelle et des motifs à réaliser comme du degré d'expertise de la dentellière, la stabilité du rythme vocal allant de pair avec l'habilité des doigts (BRUGGEMAN 1985: 294).

Cet air particulier, commun à tous les *tellingen* du recueil brugeois, nous est donné à la page du plus bel exemple du genre[6], *Mi Adel en Heer Halewijn* (L–F xxxviii, 66). Cette longue ballade ou petit roman de chevalerie raconte l'histoire bien connue de l'épouse endurante mise à l'épreuve d'une belle-mère abusive jusqu'au retour de croisade de son mari. La pièce se débite en 246 vers chantés sans refrain et selon une dramatisation qui lui est propre. Une note des collectionneurs en effet précise qu'elle se joue tout autant qu'elle se chante, façon habile s'il en est de concilier travail et jeu; elle est chantée par trois dentellières, qui se distribuent les rôles en tirant (comme à la courte paille) l'un des trois fuseaux qu'élève l'une d'elles. (L–F XXXVIII, 72)[7]



La mélodie, comme on le voit, se compose de deux phrases musicales correspondant chacune à un vers et séparées par un soupir, lequel en même temps qu'une respiration, permet le placement d'une épingle. Cette mélodie s'étend sur le faible intervalle de la tonique à la dominante, ce qui ménage la voix mise à l'épreuve de l'exceptionnelle longueur de certains *tellingen (*parfois plus de 200 vers débités sans interruption et auxquels il faut ajouter maintes répétitions). La mesure en trois-quatre est le rythme – ni lent ni dansant – mais allant d'une armée en marche, c.-à-d. le plus propice à cadencer les mouvements simultanés d'un groupe. Or, les *tellingen* généralement se chantaient en chœur, et s'ils étaient tolérés pendant le travail, c'est sans doute qu'ils avaient un effet favorable sur la productivité de l'atelier, notamment en accordant toutes les dentellières à travailler au même rythme. Une note à propos d'une comptine de dentellières recueillie dans la région minière de Saxe en 1891: „Arbeitsreim zur Anspornung des Fleißes der Klöpplerinnen, indem nach den Taktverhältnissen des Verses die Nadeln gesteckt werden" (MEIER und SEEMANN

[6] LOOTENS et FEYS publient cette pièce et quelques autres *„tellingen"* qu'ils jugent remarquables sous la rubrique des «chants populaires».

[7] Celle qui choisit le fuseau le plus garni parle au nom du mari, lequel des trois acteurs a le plus petit rôle, étant donné que le drame qui se joue entre sa mère et son épouse se déroule en son absence.

1937:169), fait de la stimulation du zèle des travailleuses la fonction première de leurs rimes, avant même, semble-t-il, le comptage des mailles.

En effet, pour Karl Bücher, déjà dans l'antiquité, les esclaves soumises aux travaux de filage, de tissage et de tressage soulageaient par des rimes chantées (apparentées à celles des dentellières) la monotonie et l'incessante répétition de leurs gestes: „Sie erleichterten sich die Arbeit duch Gesang. [...] Das Lied trösted über die lange Arbeit hinweg; es stärkt die Geduld des arbeitenden Weibes, die bei dem langsamen Fortstreiten des Werkes zu erlahmen droht." (BÜCHER 1909:84 et 94) Cette explication s'accorde avec celle qui nous est donnée à propos des *tells* de la tradition anglaise: „the lacemakers had a large repertoire of short, catchy, unaccompanied rhymes known as tells, which helped them to concentrate and stopped them from going to sleep during the long night shifts." (PORTER 1994:43). L'utilité – sinon la nécessité – du chant au travail est révélée de façon explicite dans une strophe d'un *telling*:

...	...
En onder 't werken zingen	Et, pendant le travail chantent
Onz' monden al te saam,	Nos bouches toutes ensemble,
Om leegheid te bedwingen	Pour contenir notre nonchalance
Door deuntjes aangenaam.[8]	Par des airs plaisants.

Bücher fait remarquer que le rythme vocal de ces comptines, après tout, ne fait que reproduire en l'accompagnant le mouvement continu et régulier du fuseau de la fileuse: „Die Spindel 'tanzt', d.h. sie bewegt sich selber rhythmisch" (BÜCHER 1909: 85); pareilles «musique» et «danse» naissent de l'alternance du roulement des fuseaux sur le coussin de la dentellière et de l'interruption pour piquer les épingles (BRUGGEMAN 1985:294). La répétition de ce rythme régulier rapproche les *tellingen* des comptines enfantines: „Die Reimen scheinen in einer zwischen Singen und Sprechen die Mitte haltenden Art rezitiert zu werden, ähnlich wie die meisten Kinderlieder" (BÜCHER 1909:96). En effet, la transcendance du rythme sur la mélodie et sur le texte de ces pièces évoque le rythme enfantin, tel que le perçoit Constantin Brailoiu au travers de toute la tradition européenne: il le décrit comme étant un «rythme vocal» et un «système autonome» existant «en dehors de toute mélodie», et dont «la symétrie rigoureuse procède, sinon de la danse, d'un mouvement ordonné qui s'y apparente»:

> «La scanssion, absolument inflexible de ces vers [de comptines enfantines] ... ne découle en aucune mesure de la nature des syllabes. Leur brièveté ou leur longueur n'a d'autre raison que l'emplace-

[8] BRUGGEMAN 1985:294. Cette pièce, intitulée „Het lied van het spellewerk" (le chant de la dentelle), n'est pas incluse dans le recueil de LOOTENS et FEYS; bien que recueillie à Ypres, un commentateur prétend l'avoir entendue à Bruges, et Bruggeman précise que la strophe citée ici est l'une de celles publiées précédemment comme étant d'origine brugeoise.

> ment occupé par ces syllabes dans un dispositif rythmique que l'on dirait préétabli et auquel la parole s'ajuste selon des modalités nombreuses et variables.» (BRAILOIU 1956:65)

Il semble que ce soit un rythme de ce type qui permette d'accommoder des vers de longueur très variable, comme l'illustre le début de *Mi Adel en Heer Halewijn:*

> Mi Adel en hir Alewijn
> 't Waren twee konings kinderen fijn;
> Ter roomsche schoole was 't dat zij woonden,
> Malkander te trouwen was 't dat zij beloofden.
> Maar 's nuchtends vroeg, als 't wierd klaar dag,
> Hir Alewijn de trappen afkwam,
> Mi Adel tegen hir Alewijn sprak:
> – Hir Alewijn, weet gij wel wat dat gij mij gisteren beloofde?
> (L–F XXXVIII, 66)

D'autres *tellingen* font clairement apparaître un matériau choisi en fonction de la sonorité et non du sens des mots ou même des vers. Certains de ceux-ci sont créés de toute pièce de façon à fournir la rime de chaque couplet tandis que d'autres satisfont au plaisir que procurent assonances et allitérations, auxquelles s'ajoutent parfois des inversions syntaxtiques:

> Ap en ap,
> Stoel en trap,
> Trap en stoel
> Hiester (sic) en hoel, (sic)
> Hoel en hiester.
> Kat en kliester,
> Kliester en kat.
> Muis en rat,
> Rat en muis.
> Armoe in huis,
> Huis in armoe
> Wind en storm
> Storm en wind.
> Een kalf en een kind.
> Een kind en een kalf.
> Die d'eerste en de laatste spelde steekt heeft 't al.
> G'heel en g'heel,
> Die d'eerste en de laatste spelde steekt heeft 't g'heel.
> Uit en uit,
> Die d'eerste en de laatste spelde steekt is uit.
> (L–F 275–76)

La pièce à toutes les allures d'un jeu verbal; l'exceptionnelle brièveté des vers suggère un rythme particulièrement rapide tandis que les vers de clôture («celle qui a placé la première et la dernière épingle remporte le tout, du tout au tout, celle qui a placé la première et la dernière épingle est éliminée/choisie [?]») donnent à penser à une course de vitesse entre deux ou plusieurs dentellières.

LE «CONTRE-SENS» DES *TELLINGEN*

Ce principle d'assemblage sans souci majeur de continuité de sens produit des chutes loufoques et des enchaînements pour le moins inattendus:

Elles sont assises à coudre la brassière du petit Jésus
Sans couture et sans fil.
J'irais prier Sainte Catherine,
Pour avoir une petite aiguille ou un peu de fil.
Sainte Catherine, je n'en suis pas digne,
Même si ce n'était qu'un manche à balais,
Et un petit chapeau de paille,
Je pourrais encore le perdre,
Le perdre dans le caniveau,
Je pourrais même y donner un coup de pied.
Je passais devant la porte d'un roi,
Il y avait un pain blanc devant la porte.
J'ai ramassé le pain blanc,
Je l'ai mis à l'arrière de l'étal;
Ils m'ont amené trois assiettes de poisson.
Les trois assiettes de poisson ne m'ont pas plu,
Ils m'ont amené un hareng séché.
Le hareng séché ne m'a pas plu,
Ils m'ont amené une tête d'anguille pourrie.
J'ai empoigné la tête d'anguille pourrie,
Je l'ai frappée contre la maison des corbeaux.
Les corbeaux se sont mis à trembler.
Un corbeau sauta de son nid,
Une bille dans le bec.
Il n'avait qu'un œil bleu.
Il s'enfuit à Gand pour trouver à se loger (?)
Une fois arrivé à Gand en quête d'un logement (?)
Son œil était encore plus bleu.
Il s'en alla à Notre Dame,
Une fois à l'intérieur de Notre Dame,
Ils/Elles étaient là à chanter:
Gloria Pater, et Domini.

Qui m'apportera à manger?
– Moi, dit le brave Saint-Jean.
Bon Saint-Jean, où est ta mère?
Ma mère est au ciel,
Plus haut qu'un chameau,
Plus haut qu'une vache tachetée.
(L–F 289–90)

Pareil exemple explique suffisamment sans doute le choix des collectionneurs ou de l'éditeur de réunir ces amalgames de fragments élastiques sous une rubrique qui les distingue des «chants populaires» du recueil. Cependant, c'est par rapport à ceux-ci que s'éclaire le «contre-sens» des *tellingen*. En effet, alors que la présence de la dimension familiale dans les chansons religieuses, celle de la fidélité dans les ballades et la parodie de l'une et l'autre dans les chansons comiques met en lumière ce chassé-croisé des valeurs familiales et chrétiennes comme articulation majeure du corpus (PEERE 2001b:178 et 183), le contenu narratif des *tellingen* se situe dans un rapport inverse à toute norme morale ou familiale. Dans un contraste saisissant avec les chansons du recueil, ceux-ci se plaisent à mettre en scène des meurtres sanglants et sadiques, d'une violence comportementale et verbale «extra-ordinaire» et grotesque.

Le principe sousjacent aux *tellingen* est celui du «désordre», du «renversement» des normes établies, et pareil chahut suggère défoulement plus que haine. Voici quelques-uns de ces scénarios dévastateurs: une fille accueille son père venant lui apporter un beau cadeau en lui jetant à la figure «vaurien, vieux grison, je ne te connais pas», le conduit à sa chambre où elle le fait agenouiller, le décapite, en jette la tête à la cave et le corps dans le canal (L–F III, 267); au maître d'école qui lui demande s'il connait sa leçon un écolier mal-léché rétorque qu'il la connait mieux que lui et lui décoche un coup de couteau mortel (L–F I, 254–65). A ce tableau, on peut encore ajouter le «renversement» de la prévoyance et de la générosité attendues d'un père: un paysan trouve un sou en balayant l'écurie, s'en va acheter un cheval et le marchande encore car il n'en a à faire que de la peau ... pour parer sa fille en mariée; l'ayant habillée de toutes les parties du corps de l'animal, il lance: «Elle n'est pas belle, la mariée?» (L–F VI, 272)

Il y à la un jeu de déconstruction du monde réel et de ses normes au profit de la création d'un univers fantastique, proche du *vertige* que décrit Roger Caillois, et qu'on aura reconnu déjà dans le «tournis verbal» qu'évoque l'exemple précité de *Ap en ap*. Caillois ajoute que «parallèlement [au spasme et à la transe], il existe un vertige d'ordre moral, un emportement qui saisit l'individu», qui «s'apparie volontiers avec le goût normalement réprimé du désordre et de la destruction» et «traduit des formes frustes de l'affirmation de la personnalité.» (CAILLOIS 1958:70). Selon Freud, cette *Verneinung* est bienfaisante, libératrice et constituante de la personnalité (BABCOCK 1978:20). En effet, ce retour de la sauvagerie instinctive au travers d'une expression débridée d'identité individuelle dans l'univers hyper-structuré et contrôlé de l'école-atelier de dentelles semble mettre en cause l'autorité des parents et de la

maîtresse en même temps qu'elle exprime la peur et la vulnérabilité de l'enfant devant le monde extérieur. C'est ce que suggère l'intrigue d'une jeune livreuse de linge volée, puis décapitée par un boiteux qui en emporte la tête dans son sac (L–F V, 271), et d'une autre fille encore dont le fiancé de même condition qu'elle est lâchement assassiné par le fils d'une maison riche qui la poursuit de ses ardeurs (L–F IV, 269).

Mais, ces tendances à l'extériorisation ou l'exorcisation d'instincts et de peurs refoulés s'expriment plus vivement encore dans les séquences de vers amalgamés sans souci apparent de cohérence narrative. Celles-ci créent un espace de liberté proche de l'affabulation, du *simulacre* ou *mimicry* (CAILLOIS 1958:60), donc toujours du jeu où, sous le masque de la monstruosité, on se livre à une sorte de *ritual of status inversion*, par lequel „they [the inferiors] are unconsciously identifying themselves with the very powers that deeply threaten them, and [...] enhancing their own powers by the very power that threatens to enfeeble them." (TURNER 1969: 174) Voici quelques-unes de ces licences carnavalesques, véritables exutoires d'agressivité:

'k Naai u in eene werke sargie	Je te couds dans une bâche
'k Draag u naar den molen,	Je te porte au moulin,
'k Maal u in stof,	Je te mouds jusqu'à te réduire en poussière,
'k Smijt u of in den hoek.	Je te flanque dans un coin.
(L–F VIII, 286)	

Ou encore:

...	
Had ik een pijl of had ik een boog	Ah si j'avais une flêche ou encore un arc,
'k Schoot zoo dikwijls mijn zoeteliefs oog.	Comme je viserais l'oeil de ma bien-aimée.
Had ik een pijl or had ik een riet,	Ah si j'avais une flêche ou encore un roseau,
'k Schoot zoo dikwijls mijn zoetelief.	Comme je tuerais ma bien-aimée.
(L–F V, 283)	

L'immédiat et le concret (les aiguilles et épingles) fournissent les «armes» de ces meurtres symboliques tandis que le monde spirituel (l'âme, l'enfer, le purgatoire) apporte aussi sa contribution à cet univers fantastique:

...	
Zij steekt haar moeder met naalden dood,	Elle tue sa mère à coups d'aiguilles,
En haar vader met spellen.	Et son père à coups d'épingles.
Van daar vliegt zij naar d'helle,	De là elle vole en enfer,
Van d'helle naar het vagevier,	De l'enfer au purgatoire,
Een paternoster over de ziel.	Un Notre-Père pour l'âme.
De ziel is in de hemel.	L'âme est au ciel.

Hooger als een kemel, Plus haut qu'un chameau,
Hooger als een bonte koe. Plus haut qu'une vache tachetée.
(L–F II, 277)

Si, pas plus que dans d'autres *work songs*, le processus de travail n'est le sujet des *tellingen* (PORTER 1994:45), il y a néanmoins dans cet espace de jeu plus que des allusions aux conditions auxquelles sont soumises les jeunes apprenties. Le tableau est noirci à souhait: la maîtresse dénonce le manque de zêle de ses élèves à l'intermédiaire, on les enferme dans un lieu obscur, on les maltraite et leur donne des excréments d'animaux en nourriture. Le *telling* que voici fait parler la maîtresse d'école:

...
Monsieur, mes enfants ne veulent pas travailler,
Qu'est-ce que j'en fais?
Mettez-les tous dans un lieu obscur,
Et donnez-y leur de l'avoine et de l'eau de vaisselle
Et un peu à manger.
Monsieur, ces enfants vont bien s'améliorer
Beau, beau, mes enfants, travaillez vite,
Il vient ce soir un beau monsieur,
Un monsieur qui vous apportera quelque chose,
Des figues de l'écurie
Des raisins de Corinthe de moutons
Ca vous goûtera bien.
Beau, beau, mes enfants, travaillez vite,
Ce soir il vient une belle dame,
Une dame avec des bâtons
Elle frappera à faire saigner les mains et les pieds.
Je passais par un escalier de verre
Ou était assis Monsieur Lorius
Monsieur Lorius me demande quelque chose
Si je n'avais pas d'enfants paresseux.
Je lui dis non et pensais oui.
(L–F VI, 282)[9]

Voici une évocation touchante et ironique de la longue journée de travail, de la compassion toute maternelle de la Sainte Vierge ... et d'un pendant bien moins sympathique:

Saint Pierre, avec tes clés,
Ouvre-moi un peu le ciel.

[9] Des contraintes matérielles nous lient à ne donner cet exemple et les suivants que dans notre traduction de l'original.

Pourquoi, pourquoi veux-tu que je l'ouvre?
Pour que j'aille trouver Notre Dame.
Il saisit la clé et l'ouvre:
Notre Dame, quand est-ce que j'aurai ma paie?
Mon enfant, quand la voudrais-tu?
Notre Dame, je la voudrais bien pour cinq heures.
Si tu continues à travailler vite et diligemment, à quatre heures tu l'auras déjà.
Ce gaillard de Saint Pierre dit alors:
Si tu lèves tout le temps les yeux de ton ouvrage au lieu de travailler,
Ce soir à minuit tu ne l'auras pas encore.
(L–F, IX 287)

Il est des références claires aussi à l'enseignement de la lecture et des fondements de la religion comme au prix du laisser-aller en la matière:

Qui est enfermé ici dans ce grenier?
C'est Dieu et le saint évêque,
Habillé de son étole dorée,
Et son livre doré à la main.
On dit trois saintes messes,
Trois saintes messes furent chantées.
Il sortit trois petites âmes de la tombe,
La première sortit en lisant,
La seconde en priant;
La troisième dit: je ne peux ni lire ni prier.
Si tu ne peux ni lire ni prier alors va-t-en d'ici!
Seigneur, où veux-tu que je m'en aille?
Dans l'abîme de l'enfer.
Il s'y trouve tant de vilains bonhommes, ils vont tellement me tourmenter,
Avec une épingle de manche tordue!
Epingle de manche, ton point est tordu!
La petite âme s'en retourna,
La petite âme n'osa pas y aller, ...
(L–F 288)

Comme il apparaît de ces quelques exemples, le language poétique et populaire des *tellingen* est tissé d'inversions, de paradoxes, de paroxysmes et de métaphores «renversantes», tels les figues de l'étable (L–F VI, 282), les raisins secs de moutons (L–F VI, 283) et, en guise d'autres délicatesses encore, une tête d'anguille pourrie (L–F X, 290), des carottes avariées (L–F II, 279) un fiel immonde (L–F VII, 286) et de l'eau de vaisselle (L–F VI, 282). «Les aliments aigres, pourris ou puants» qu'on voit défiler dans *Le Carnaval de Romans*, au haut Moyen-Age bourguignon, font allusion symbolique aux pauvres, de même que les images de bétail domestique (Le ROY LADURIE 1979:350). Ces derniers figurent aussi largement dans les *tellingen*. A

ce propos, voici un extrait qui semble évoquer les différences sociales au sein des écoles:

...
Moutons riches et pauvres.
Les riches ne veulent pas s'asseoir à côté des pauvres. ...
(L–F 274)

Cependant, tout n'est pas «jeu» ou débridement carnavalesque dans ces *tellingen*; en écho au caractère religieux, parfois mystique des chansons de la première partie de *Chants populaires flamands*, on trouve, en plus d'un long récit de la Création, deux pièces énumératives qu'il nous faut relever en vertu de leur forme et intérêt particuliers. La première est la traduction littérale d'une chanson latine (de COUSSEMAKER 1930:129), dont le contenu chrétien s'est imposé à celui d'un chant druidique: celui des «Séries», en lequel La Villemarqué reconnaît la plus ancienne chanson bretonne armoricaine. (La VILLEMARQUÉ 1963:15). Tel le druide instruisant son disciple, la comptine brugeoise récapitule les fondements de la religion chrétienne en les associant chacun à un nombre significatif, ce qui donne:

Une foi dans le Christ ressuscité
Abraham qui s'adressa ainsi à Jacob
Sur la montagne de Sion,
Au jour d'aujourd'hui.
Le Seigneur Dieu vit, lui de qui tout provient,
Qui a créé le ciel et la terre,
Qui pour nous a versé son sang,
Qui a bu à la coupe amère.
Deux tables de Moïse
Trois Prophètes
Quatre Evangélistes ...
(etc jusqu'à 25) (L–F I, 260–61)

Chaque récitation des vers 1 à 25 était précédée de la phrase: «Dis nous Seigneur, la première partie», souvenir direct par lequel le disciple priait le druide de l'instruire. Le *telling*, nous disent les collectionneurs, était le plus souvent récité en ordre décroissant, de 25 à 1, puis de 24 à 1, de 23 à 1 etc. (L–F I, 261), ce qui faisait de cette pièce un support pédagogique de choix puisqu'elle entraînait l'aptitude à compter des plus jeunes et assurait leur instruction religieuse tout en cadençant leur travail. Apprécions la gymnastique mentale qu'exige la récitation de cette pièce ... et en faisant de la dentelle!

La seconde pièce de nature énumérative est plus originale encore. Elle se chantait en l'honneur du couronnement d'épines. Elle prend la forme d'une prière de louange et est précédée de la phrase «Une épine tirée de la couronne du bon Jésus». Son schéma de répétition suggère un exercice mnémotechnique déjà complexe, en allant du vers 1 à 9, 2 à 19, 3 à 29, etc jusqu'à 77, nombre qui passait pour

celui des épines du couronne du Christ. Ce telling prenait la forme d'un rituel pénitenciel au départ des outils de travail – les épingles – qui ailleurs se faisaient instruments de supplice. «A chaque vers elles [les dentellières] confectionnaient une tresse (*vlecht*) de la dentelle nommée annouwsel et qui exigeait [...] une épingle dans chaque maille. Avant de fixer l'épingle, elles s'en piquaient légèrement le front.» (L–F III, 263). Ainsi donc, cette récitation devenait pour elles, immobilisées derrière leur coussin pendant des heures, prière et méditation.

En conclusion, soulignons l'intérêt de ces *tellingen* au delà de toute attente. Si, de prime abord, les propos discontinus et «délirants» de ces chants, faits d'emprunts et criblés de lacunes, confondent le jugement, ils ne sont pas que le miroir brisé d'autres chansons, car ni le hasard ni le rythme de travail imposé ni même la technique de la dentelle ne suffisent à expliquer l'ingénieuse complexité de leur sens comme de leur substance. Ces chants de travail, de femmes et d'enfants, témoignent d'expériences et d'émotions intimement liées aux contraintes matérielles (l'immobilité physique), mentales (la routine aliénante) et émotionnelles (l'absence de toute autre forme de communication) découlant de leur activité et de son contexte socio-économique. Nous voici proches, asurément, des *tells* anglais, porteurs des «*dreams of desalienation*» des dentellières des Midlands. (PORTER 1994:50) Par le tressage subtil d'un matériau à l'avenant (l'immédiat comme le spirituel), leurs pendantes brugeoises se créent un espace imaginaire et poétique de liberté, de jeu, de prière ... au départ des ressources – limitées s'il en est – de leur cadre de vie et de travail. Tour à tour ou tout à la fois, assises sur leur chaise, les yeux fixés sur leur coussin, elles extériorisent en les dramatisant les tensions engendrées de leur dépendance vis-à-vis de l'autorité (adultes, parents ou maîtresses), s'amusent voire se défoulent en la transgressant, perfectionnent l'agilité de leurs doigts en se faisant la course, s'exercent au calcul mental et/ou se recueillent dans la méditation et la prière. En d'autres mots, ces travailleuses sans relâche ni relâchement (que du contraire!) «se re-créent» en «jouant» avec tout ce qui est à leur portée: les mots, les sons, les noms et les nombres, les personnages réels, légendaires ou divins, les fuseaux et les épingles ... en y gagnant leur pain sous l'oeil attentif (naïf ou complice?) de la maîtresse!

Comme statégies d'adaptation et de survie[10] aux vicissitudes matérielles et morales de l'existence, les *tellingen* sont assurément des «chants populaires» à part entière.

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[10] L'expression renvoie à celle de David Buchan (*strategies for survival*) à propos des ballades classiques de revenants de la tradition anglo-écossaise (BUCHAN 1989:337).

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THE HUNT'S UP? RURAL COMMUNITY, SONG, AND POLITICS

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Abstract: Recently in Britain a proposal to ban hunting with dogs has caused a political furore. A fever pitch has been reached with the impending prospect of legislation under the new Labour Government. (Twice previously legislation has been brought before Parliament, but has failed to become law.) Among communities, the polarisation of popular opinion into pro- and anti-hunting pressure groups, led, in June 1998, to the formation of the Countryside Alliance, arguably the largest protest body with a 'status quo' agenda that Britain has ever known. Out of these tensions and perceived threats to rural lifestyles there has grown a renewed sense of community, in which such cherished institutions as the hunt supper together with the singing of traditional hunting songs have come to the fore. The assertion of identity 'in song' of those who value these cultural traditions has, during the last six years, crossed the boundary from the closed gatherings of hunting groups and rural communities into the public arena of political controversy. Based on fieldwork in the west Yorkshire Pennine hills, this paper will consider the changing perceptions of the function and meaning of such songs and the political implications of their performance.

Keywords: song, hunting, politics, community, identity, performance, countryside, polarisation, gender, singing

On the 10 July 1997, 120,000 people gathered in Hyde Park in London in support of the Countryside Movement's campaign to oppose the parliamentary bill to ban hunting with dogs introduced by Michael Foster MP. After the rallying calls by politicians and celebrities, the afternoon concluded with a highly-charged rendition of 'John Peel', led by Andrew Rogers of Kirkburton near Huddersfield. This is one of many instances when hunting songs have been enlisted to bolster the political cause of the Countryside Movement in England. The threat of a ban on hunting has engendered a strong revival of the tradition of singing such songs, which form the focus of many social occasions. This paper will consider the political implications of the performance of such songs, in the context of a resurgence of rural community identity expressed in song.

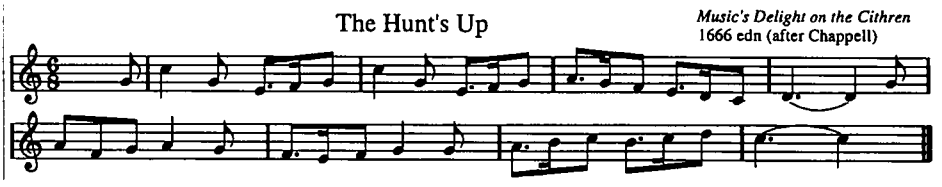
The history of the hunting song in England is almost as long as the documented history of hunting. Certainly by 1537, the practice of singing such songs was so well established in English society as to have become proverbial and to be the vehicle of political (and later religious) parody (SIMPSON 1966: 323–327; WARD 1980: 1–13). Thus, 'Hunt's Up', the title of a favourite song of King Henry VIII (CHAPPELL 1855–1859: I, 50), was in general usage as a term to describe any song or tune designed to rouse the sleeper and serve as a reveille or aubade (*Oxford English Dictionary*). The date above was marked by the initiation of legal proceedings against John Hogon,

Example 1
'The Hunt's Up' parodies

The hunt ys up, the hunt ys up,
Loe! it is allmost daye;
For Christ our Kyng is cum a huntyng,
And browght his deare to staye.
[By John Thorne, from *The Moral Play of Wit and Science,* BM MS Add. 15233, fol. 33.]

With huntis vp, with huntis vp,
It is now perfite day,
Jesus, our King, is gaine in hunting,
Quha lykis to speid thay may.
[*A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs*, 1567, ed. A. F. Mitchell, 1897, pp. 174–75]

The Hunt is up, the Hunt is up,
And now it is almost day,
And he that's abed with another man's wife,
It's time to get him away.
[*Merry Drollery*, 1661, I, 20.]



who had transgressed by performing in public a political parody of the song, 'The Hunt's Up' (CHAPPELL 1855–1859: I, 50).

It might be argued that, by this time, two enduring characteristics of hunting songs were well established: the first being their form as songs of praise – panegyrics or paeans; the second being the appeal of their tunes, which readily attracted and retained public affection. Although the original text of 'The Hunt's Up' in the form that was registered with the Stationers' Company in 1565–66 has not survived, Example 1 shows contemporary religious parodies and a secular parody in the form of a catch, which establish the metrical pattern and echo the content of the opening stanza. Thus the text has the sun, bright Phoebus or Apollo, doing his handiwork, while the tune is etched in the public psyche, being used not only for parodies, but also for a country dance and for the town waits' alarm call (SIMPSON 1966: 326), (MERRYWEATHER 1988: 29–30). There are clear resonances of text (Sister Moon or Phoebe) and tune in Henry Fielding's archetypal 'The Dusky Night Rides Down the Sky' with its galloping chorus 'A-Hunting We Will Go', which was written for the ballad opera, *Don Quixote in England* in 1734 (CHAPPELL 1855–1859: II, 650–652) (see Example 2).

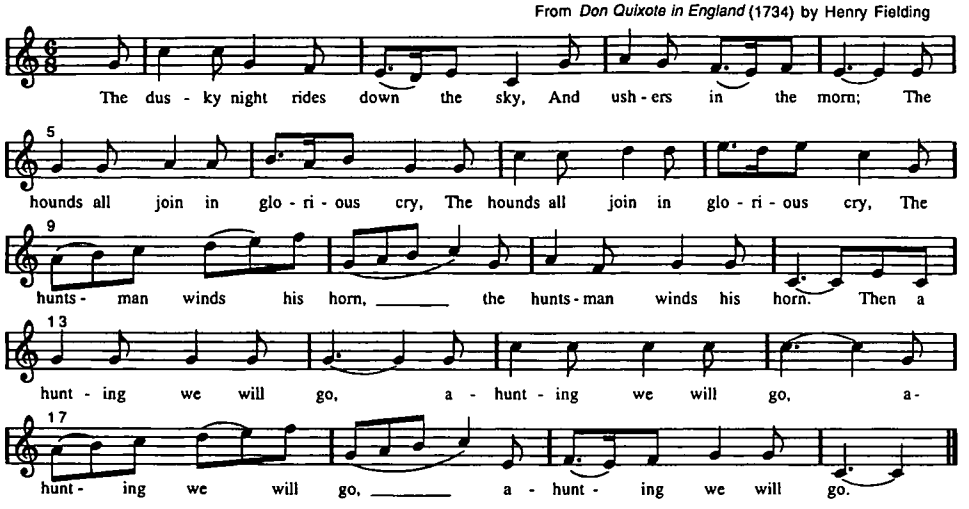
Modern examples of this type continue to feature in the current traditional repertoire. Such a song is 'A Bright Rosy Morn',[1] which is a great favourite of the three

[1] For printed texts, see HUNTERS' SONGS 1948: no.10 and HUNTERS' SONGS 1990: no.1. For a recording , see *Hunters' Songs: Traditional Songs Sung by the Holme Valley Beagles Hunt*, audio-cassette, Holme Valley Beagles Hunt, 1991, recorded by Richard Merrick.

Example 2
'The Dusky Night Rides Down the Sky'

From the ballad opera, *Don Quixote in England*, by Henry Fielding (1734)
After W. Chappell, *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols (1855–59), (Dover edn, 1965), II, 650–52.

The Dusky Night Rides Down the Sky



The dusky night rides down the sky, and ushers in the morn;
The hounds all join in glorious cry, the huntsman winds his horn.
Then a hunting we will go.

The wife around her husband throws her arms and begs his stay;
My dear, it rains, it hails and snows, you will not hunt to-day.
But a hunting we will go.

A brushing fox in yonder wood, secure to find we seek;
For why, I carried, sound and good, a cartload there last week.
And a hunting we will go.

Away he goes, he flies the rout, their steeds all spur and switch;
Some are thrown in, and some thrown out, and some thrown in the ditch.
But a hunting we will go.

At length his strength to faintness worn, poor reynard ceases flight;
Then hungry, homeward we return, to feast away the night.
Then a drinking we do go.

foot packs that hunt in the vicinity of Holmfirth in West Yorkshire – the Holme Valley Beagles, the Colne Valley Beagles, and the Pennine Fox Hounds (see map). Here Phoebus sets the scene in the time-honoured manner, and an association of hunting with love-making is explicitly stated:

Fig. 1. Location of the Holmfirth District within Great Britain

'Let love crown the night as sweet sports crown the day!'
(see Example 3)

The other common allusion, to drinking and toasting, concludes many of the songs in the current repertoire. Compare the last verse of 'The Scent Was Good' with the equivalent verse in 'The Echoing Horn', which combines both allusions:

Now if our host permits a toast, we'll ask each sportsman here
His glass to fill with a right good will and follow with a cheer;
For each man ought to drink to sport in glasses three times three
That long may last the huntsman's blast in England's land so free.
(HUNTERS' SONGS 1948: no. 28)

With a bottle and friend this evening we'll spend
And crown the brave sports of the day;
Our wives will at night give us such a delight
And smother all sorrows away, away,
And smother all sorrows away.
(HUNTERS' SONGS 1948: no. 9)

In *English Folk Poetry*, Roger Renwick refers to the consensual feeling that pervades many of the hunting songs – 'a unity of good fellowship and singular

Example 3
'Bright Rosy Morning'
As sung by members of the Pennine Concert Party, 1999.

There's a bright rosy morning peeps over yond hill,
Sweet blushes adorning the meadows and fields;
Whilst the merry, merry, merry huntsman cries, come, come away,
Awake from your slumber and choose the new day! [Last two lines repeated]

See the hare runs before us and away seems to fly
She pants to her cover, the hounds in full cry;
Crying, Follow, follow, follow, follow to the musical chase,
With triumph and vigour our sport to embrace.

Now the day's well spent over with joy and delight
And brings to each lover fresh charms for the night,
Crying, Let us, let us, let us, let us be merry whilst we may,
Let love crown the night as sweet sports crown the day!

enjoyment' – which he recognises as a core value of its bracketed world. This fellowship is fully inclusive, hounds and huntsmen are praised, followers cheer on the pursuit, even the quarry is given plaudits, and gladly and enthusiastically participates in its own downfall. In fact, 'all are mutual participants in common allegiance to the ethos of the hunt' (RENWICK 1980: 119–121).

The tendency to assign dialogue to the animals, hounds and quarry, is noted by Renwick (RENWICK 1980: 120). Such anthropomorphising can be seen in 'Old Snowball' (see Example 4), where the two antagonists, leading hound and fox, both familiarly named with suitable epithet, converse to progress the action. Bold Reynard sportingly proposes to take flight:

'Methinks I hear yon jovial hounds pursuing of me still,
Before that me they shall come near, I'll cross yond mighty hill.'

Old Snowball advises his pack:

'We'd better leave these woods and groves and try yond mighty rocks'.

Bold Reynard sportingly invites the hounds to chase him:

'If you will follow me, my boys, fresh grounds to you I'll show.'

Finally the exhausted fox pleads:

'If you will spare my life this time, I'll promise and fulfil
I'll touch no ducks or feathered fowl nor lambs on yond high hill.'

But the fox's word is not to be trusted; no mercy is shown and none is expected, as the hounds chorus:

'So bid adieu to cocks and ducks, likewise yond lambs also,
We've caught bold Reynard by his back and we will not let him go.'

This equanimity further serves to emphasise the consensus to which all the participant voices in the song subscribe.

Example 4
'Old Snowball and Bold Reynard (A Duet)'
From *Hunters' Songs*, [3rd edn], Holme Valley Beagles Hunt, 1948, no. 27.

You gentlemen of high renown, come listen unto me,
That takes delight in fox hunting,'tis of a high degree.
A story true I'll tell you concerning of a fox
We hunted him o'er mountains high through valleys, fields, and rocks.

Bold Reynard lying in his den and hearing of these hounds,
They waked him out of his sleep and on his legs did stand.
'Methinks I hear yon jovial hounds pursuing of me still,
Before that me they shall come near I'll cross yond mighty hill.'

Old Snowball he threw up his nose, he knew it was a fox,
'We'd better leave theses woods and groves and try yond mighty rocks.'
Bold Reynard lying not far off and hearing him say so
'If you will follow me my boys fresh grounds to you I'll show.'

Old Snowball he threw up his nose he caught the gallant scent,
Old Snowball he threw up his heels and through the woods he went.
Then away, away, through Piketon Park, through parishes eighteen,
We hunted him nine hours or more till we came to Masefield Green.

Bold Reynard lying himself down thinking to take some rest,
Old Snowball he came up to him and sounded him his last.
'If you will spare my life this time I'll promise and fulfil,
I'll touch no ducks or feathered fowl, nor lambs on yond high hill.'

The other hounds came up so bold and hearing him say so,
'We've caught bold Reynard by his back and we will not let him go.
So bid adieu to cocks and ducks, likewise yond lambs also,
We've caught bold Reynard by his back and we will not let him go.'

Before discussing the performance context, it is worth pursuing one further characteristic of such songs found in the repertoire of Pennine singers. This feature, common in locally composed songs, consists of cataloguing places, characters, or events. 'The White House' written by Malcolm Hawkswell of Colne Valley Beagles in 1956 illustrates this in the account of the social evening that follows the hunt.[2]

Dorothy Blakeney was our hostess and did us rather proud,
With damn good ale and sandwiches for that assembled crowd,
And tap'oil[3] being well nigh full, best room were crowded out,

[2] For a recording, as sung by John Cocking, see Holme Valley Tradition, *Bright Rosy Morning*, 12-inch L.P., Hill and Dale, HD851, 1984.

[3] Dialect term for 'tap room', a bar in a pub for working men.

Some supped their ale on flags outside, teetotollers did without.
Laddie fol light fol larolay, light fol light folarolay
Laddie fol light fol larolay, light fol light fol larolay

Roger Broadbent sung a silent song and did us 'Waggon Wheels',
Archie Cameron in tap'oil were dancing Scottish reels;
Brian Pearson played piano, he banged down hard on keys,
It sounded as if he was playing with his elbows and his knees.
Laddie fol light fol larolay, etc.

Inevitably the connotive meaning of such lists is largely impenetrable to the outsider, who is unfamiliar with the characters mentioned or their foibles. Although there can be a certain element of good-natured censure or teasing, the notoriety of being included in such a song provides not just a palliative to render the personal remark inoffensive, but the incentive to make a suitable riposte. In this way the equilibrium is sustained in an invigorated form. Herbert Halpert observed astutely that the existence of local song composition in a tradition was a measure of its vitality (HALPERT 1951: 35–40).

Of the three footpacks mentioned above, the Pennine Fox Hounds are currently the most active, in terms of singing, owing to the shared enthusiasm of the Joint Masters, Andrew Rogers and Mark Davies. They have up to twenty singers on whom they can call, and during the last four or five years they have performed as many as 20 times a year. Over half of these occasions have been outside their own hunt social circle, when they have been referred to as the Pennine Concert Party. Several of these external outings have been to support events organised to raise awareness and funding for the Countryside Movement (reconstituted as the Countryside Alliance in 1998), which is the national organisation set up to oppose any ban on hunting. Most of these events take place in community halls, marquees or club/pub concert rooms, and are attached to the meetings of other hunts and agricultural or livestock shows, such as dog trials. Some of these engagements have been at some distance from Holmfirth, for example in the West Country (south-west England) or the Borders (counties bordering the English-Scottish border), and the host group has provided the members of the concert party with accommodation.

The general format for these occasions is that the singers supply the evening's entertainment and one of the group, usually Nigel Hinchcliffe, will act as the Master of Ceremonies. As a salesman, auctioneer, and actor, he is well suited to the role, and his banter helps to create a convivial and relaxed atmosphere. Not only does he introduce singers very effectively, but he intersperses this role with jokes and anecdotes, carefully chosen to appeal to his 'country' audience. Although the singing is seen to support the cause of the countryside, fundraising is achieved via different means. Usually there is an entrance charge or ticket price, but more overtly there is always a raffle, for which the prizes are donated. The other common fundraising activity is an auction of donated 'lots', typical examples of these would include hand-made shepherds' crooks or sticks, hand-made brass or silver hunting horns, or large

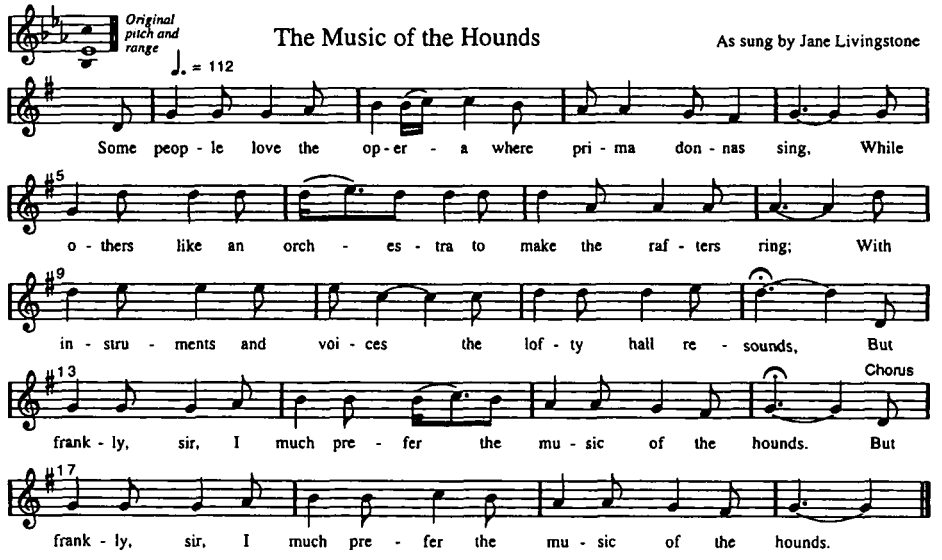
cuts/joints of meat. Nigel, together with one of the singers, Clive Mitchell, are past-masters of the auction scenario.

The singing itself is not devoted exclusively to the performance of hunting songs, nor ever has this been the case. Popular rural choruses, such as 'The Farmers' Boy', feature alongside Irish pub ballads, such as 'The Black Velvet Band'; while sentimental pieces, for example 'Madge', alternate with comic songs in blatant local dialect, the classic being 'Gossip John' (RUSSELL 1987: 90–92)[4].

> Ya bran' new cow 'as corved right unda t'parla winda
> Ya bran' new cow 'as corved right unda t'parla winda;
> And its corf it will not suck, suck, suck, suck, suck,
> Tha'll 'ave to give it finga, Gossip John.

In spite of the remit, to support the Countryside Alliance, very few of the items performed have an explicit political or topical theme that relates to the present situation. The one exception is 'The Music of the Hounds', which originates in the 1970s, several years before the current controversy (see Example 5). It was written by Jeffrey Dent, a member of the Airedale Beagles, a hunt from Yorkshire, some fifty kilometres further north in the Pennines. Unusual among the hunt repertoire, it

Example 5
'The Music of the Hounds'
Words by Jeffrey Dent, Airedale Beagles Hunt.
Tune traditional
As sung by Jane Livingstone, 18 February 1998,
Fleece Inn, Holme, West Yorkshire



[4] For a recording, as sung by members of the Holme Valley Beagles Hunt, see, *A Fine Hunting Day*, 12-inch L.P., Leader Sound, LEE4056, 1975, recorded by Dave Bland and Bill Leader.

Some people love the opera where prima donnas sing,
While others like an orchestra to make the rafters ring;
With instruments and voices, the lofty hall resounds,
But frankly, sir, I much prefer the music of the hounds.
[Last line repeated as refrain]

If you should visit Wharfedale or the valley of the Aire,
You'll find that we have bred a pack of hounds beyond compare,
And when the hunt is over, good fellowship resounds
As we supply a chorus to the music of the hounds.

Joe Paisley is our Master, he bears an honoured name,
George Dyson is the Whipper-In, that knows the hunting game,
Anne Lloyd would view the hare away with a hollo that astounds,
And we supply a chorus to the music of the hounds.

Although the wind is biting as across the beck we splash,
And snow falls like an avalanche from Huntsman's white moustache;
We soon forget discomfort as from the hill rebounds
That glorious burst of music, the music of the hounds.

Now some down there in Parliament are plotting in advance
To take away our birthright, if we give them half a chance;
I pray that when we're short of breath, our pockets short of pounds,
We still will have the right to hear, the music of the hounds.

So all you honest hunting folk that love our ancient sport,
Be ready to defend it from abuse and false report,
And even though they dig our bones from consecrated grounds,
Make sure they never stop the music of a single hound.

So when we go to heaven, as all good hunters do,
There'll be a pack of beagles and a pack of foxhounds too;
St Peter will be good enough to pause when on his rounds
And listen for a moment to the music of the hounds.

is a song that is favoured by women. Two singers from the Pennine Concert Party, who perform it regularly, are Jane Livingstone and Wendy Pinkney. Jane is the Kennelmaid for the neighbouring hare hunt, the Holme Valley Beagles, and Wendy's husband, Will, is the Huntsman of the Pennine Fox Hounds; this is relevant as both women depend on hunting for their source of income. A third singer who has popularised the song in the Lake District, is Diane Barker, a shepherd from Ullswater, and youngest daughter of the legendary Lake District hunter, the late Anthony Barker.

The first four verses of 'The Music of the Hounds' follow a very similar pattern to that expressed in many hunting songs and include a list of notable characters, significant topological references, and praise for the hounds. The figure of speech, 'the music of the hounds', is alluded to in other songs and is commonly used in hunting circles.[5] A highly evocative term, it refers to the clamour of yaps and yelps as members of the pack communicate with each other, whilst following the scent of

[5] See, for example, 'The Brown Hare of Whitebrook Head', in HUNTERS' SONGS 1948: no. 35.

their quarry. Admittedly there is a hint in the opening verse of the highly-charged language that follows in the latter part of the song, in that a distinction is drawn between aficionados of opera/classical music and the supporters of hunting. This can be taken as a town/country divide, later to be translated to a metropolitan/provincial context.

The last three verses encapsulate several of the themes that hunting people espouse: firstly the interpretation of parliamentary deliberation on cruelty to wildlife as intrigue; secondly the belief that the freedom to hunt is a basic human right; thirdly the recognition of the need to rally support from among their own ranks; and fourthly the perception that the hunting community is the victim of injustice, slander, and propaganda. It is worth noting that the phrase 'they dig our bones from consecrated grounds' is a reference to the desecration of John Peel's grave in Threlkeld by hunt saboteurs, which was understandably a highly provocative and emotive act. Presumably the association of hunting folk with heaven is chauvinistic bravura that consigns the opposition to be damned in hell.

Whereas there are other examples in which the participants' obsession with the sport of hunting is spelt out at great length, for example 'A Fine Hunting Day' (MELBREAK HUNT 1971: 68), such songs promote inclusivity and the consensus view of balance and harmony with nature. 'The Music of the Hounds' is exceptional in its explicitness; it points up the controversy and refers with passion to those who are for and against the sport, 'them and us'. By presenting a polarisation of views that does not concur with the accepted world view, as expressed elsewhere in the repertoire, the song requires an interpreter – a voice that has credibility but is distinguishable from the mainstream hunting tradition. It is perhaps for this reason that the song has been taken up by female voices and that they should be so effective in this role.

Jane Livingstone sang the song in support of the Countryside Alliance at the Hyde Park Rally in 1997 before 120,000 people, and again at the Labour Party conferences in Blackpool in 1998 and at Bournemouth in 1999, where there was a march involving 80,000 people. Understandably she calls it her 'rallying song', noting that 'it stirs the blood'.[6] She explains how she was not keen on the song when she first learnt it over ten years ago, but subsequently it has grown on her and the meaning has become more poignant. The emotional intensity of the song has increased, in the current climate, to the point where, in summer 2000, she broke down in tears whilst performing it at a singing competition in Lowther in the Lake District.

One of the other rallying songs at Hyde Park, alongside 'Jerusalem' and 'Men of Harlech', was, of course, Andrew Rogers' rendition of 'John Peel', mentioned above (Example 6). Andrew recalls that he sang to a brass band accompaniment and that the words of the song were included in the official programme.

[6] Interview, 25 August 2000.

Example 6
'John Peel (1777–1854)'
From *Songs of the Fell Packs*, Melbreak Hunt, 1971, p. 2.

D'ye ken John Peel with his coat so gray,
D'ye ken John Peel at the break of day.
D'ye ken John Peel when he's far, far away,
With his hounds and his horn in the morning.

Chorus
'Twas the sound of his horn brought me from my bed,
And the cry of his hounds that he oft times led,
For Peel's 'View halloa' would awaken the dead,
Or the fox from his lair in the morning.

D'ye ken that bitch whose tongue is death,
D'ye ken her sons of peerless faith,
D'ye ken that a fox with his last breath,
Cursed them all as he died in the morning.

Yes, I ken John Peel and auld Ruby too,
Ranter and Royal and Bellman as true,
From the drag to the chase, from the chase to the view,
From the view to the death in the morning.

An' I've followed John Peel both often and far,
O'er the rasper fence, the gate and the bar,
From Low Denton-holme up to Scratchmere Scar,
Where we vied for the brush in the morning.

Then here's to John Peel with my heart and soul,
Come fill, fill to him another strong bowl,
For we'll follow John Peel thro' fair or thro' foul,
While we're waked by his horn in the morning.

Our best of nags went stride for stride,
With ears shot forth and nostrils wide,
Nor fagged before 'we're dead' was cried,
As we grappled for the brush in the morning.

O, yes, I have seen and have done far more,
Many, many times and as oft tell o'er,
How we ran into foxes in galore,
Ere the hoar left the hills in the morning.

Yes I ken'd John Peel with his coat so gray,
He lived up at Troutbeck (Caldbeck) once on a (in his) day,
But now he's (he is) gone and he's far, far away,
We shall ne'er (and we never) hear his horn in the morning.

'Verses 6, 7, 8 not usually used.
Woodcock Graves, Circa 1825.'

Note: Andrew Rogers sings verses 1, 3, 5, 8, and chorus.

> 'When I sing "John Peel", I'm lucky to sing it, to be asked to sing it. [It's] the only song that really rallies the crowd. They all know it. It's a crowd rouser. That's the one... There wasn't a soul on that field [Hyde Park] who wasn't singing it.'[7]

He identifies deeply with the song, which he describes as the 'national anthem of field sports', and yet he feels no affinity with John Peel himself, whom he pictures as 'just a squire'.

Joan Davies, who is the chairperson of the Barlow Hunt Supporters Club, sees 'John Peel' as archetypal, harking back to a different way of life and yet connecting with the present. She argues that such songs are so successful not because they are cerebral, but rather because:

> 'they tie into people's emotions... like a crass pop song reminds you of your youth... some songs just take you there – whoosh!'[8]

Such expression resonates closely with John Blacking's position statement that heads his essay on the significance of the music of the Black Christian churches in South Africa.

'Music is non-referential and sensuous, and no claim can be made that it is directly political. But some music can become and be used as a symbol of group identity, regardless of its structure; and the structure of music can be such that the conditions required for its performance generate feelings and relationships between people that enable positive thinking and action in fields that are not musical'.(BLACKING 1995: 198).

Andrew Rogers is clearly aware of the emotional power of his song and for the Countryside Alliance 'March March' held in London on 1 March 1998 (which attracted in excess of 250,000), he tacked on the following few lines, which he adapted shamelessly from Ralph McTell's 'The Streets of London':[9]

> 'So how can you tell me it's over
> And say for me the sun won't shine;
> Let me take you by the hand and we'll walk through
> the Streets of London
> We will show you something to make you change your mind.'

Michael Foster's private members' parliamentary bill to outlaw hunting 'ran out of time', on Friday 6 March 1998 at the Report Stage. The Labour government subsequently instigated 'The Committee of Inquiry into Hunting with Dogs', chaired by Lord Burns, which published its report on 12 June 2000.[10] Previously the

[7] Interview, 29 June 2000.
[8] Interview, 30 June 2000.
[9] Ralph McTell, *Streets*, 12-inch L.P., Warner Brothers, WB56105, 1975.
[10] *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Hunting with Dogs in England and Wales,* HMSO CM4763, June 2000.

Countryside Alliance had made its submission to the Inquiry (COUNTRYSIDE ALLIANCE 2000: 1–133). In answer to Question 9 of the terms of reference – 'In what ways, and to what extent, does the existence of hunting with dogs contribute to or impair the social and cultural life of the countryside?' – the following points were made (COUNTRYSIDE ALLIANCE 2000: 62–76):

– Hunting provides the social glue in many communities, because it provides a valid purpose for socialising.
– Hunts organise a constant round of social activities, which are a dependable feature of country life, around which many people's lives are entirely structured. [27 examples are listed]
– The importance of the social network and sense of identity provided by hunting with dogs is ... paramount to remote communities ...

The Alliance stressed the contemporary importance of hunting to the culture of England and Wales by listing various items advertised in the *Hounds Magazine.* Five of the ten examples included refer to songs, typically *Songs of the Fell Packs* and *Hunting Songs from Country Voices*.

The campaign itself has helped to generate a number of publications directly associated with songs. George Bowyer, with thirty others, walked from Coldstream in Scotland to London as part of the 1997 rally. They were regularly joined, on a casual basis, by up to 200 supporters to give them encouragement. While driving north in his van, George was inspired to write a song for the walk, 'The Guardians of the Land', which was performed *en route* and later issued on CD.[11] It reached number 21 in the charts in October 1998, a not insignificant achievement for such a specialist item.

One day in May 1999 on the Lancaster Canal, Andrew Rogers and John Haigh joined James and Mary Holt, who were walking from Land's End to John o' Groats in support of the Countryside Alliance's campaign: John notes: 'As we walked we were inspired and developed the idea of recording a CD of country songs to raise money for their fund'.[12] The result, *A Lift on the Way*, includes songs performed by John Cocking, Martin Fitton, Jane Livingstone, William Noble, Wendy Pinkney, and Andrew Rogers – all members of the Pennine Concert Party. Mark Davies, who leads the party, comments: 'The Pennine Fox Hounds haven't a lot of money to give, but songs and singing is support in kind, a positive contribution. It's a tradition. There's one or two can speak well, like Ann Mallalieu, who can raise people, but you can sing a song and that can work just as well.'[13]

[11] George Bowyer and William McClintock Bunbury, *The Guardians of the Land*, CD produced by BOYS for the Countryside Alliance [no matrix number], 1998.

[12] *A Lift on the Way: A Collection of Country Songs to Celebrate James and Mary Holt's Countryside Walk, Land's End to John o' Groats, in Aid of the Countryside Alliance*, CD privately produced by Andrew Rogers and John Haigh [no matrix number], 1999.

[13] Interview, 30 June 2000.

Although the Burns Report accepted the social/cultural argument made by the Alliance with reference to comparatively remote areas, such as the Lake District, not surprisingly there was no mention of the significant part songs and singing have played in such communities.

Responding to the recommendations of the Burns Inquiry, in December 2000 the British Government introduced to Parliament legislation that proposed a choice of three outcomes – a total ban, a system of regulation, or self-regulation. The Hunting Bill[14] was given a third reading in the House of Commons on 18 January 2001, when MPs voted, by a majority of 387 to 174, for an outright ban in England and Wales. However, the House of Lords did not agree with the Commons and voted by 317 to 68 for self regulation. This impasse was unresolved and the bill ran out of time when Parliament was dissolved as a result of the General Election having been called for 7 June 2001. The re-elected Labour Government has pledged in its second term of office to re-introduce yet another bill to ban hunting. It should be added that tensions in the countryside have further increased as a result of the foot and mouth epidemic that is plaguing livestock in certain areas, and this may significantly delay the introduction of legislation.

Unquestionably, the hunting crisis has brought rural communities together in England. Mounted packs from the South and Midlands of England have wholeheartedly embraced the singing traditions of the Pennine, and the singers have relished their new-found audiences and risen to the occasion. The voice they have been given has been maximised to great effect, whether it be to remind their audience of the rich heritage of hunting songs or to challenge their consensual worldview with the more contentious issues that have been brought into focus by the current situation. John Blacking wrote: 'performance is political in the sense that it may involve people in a powerful shared experience within the framework of their cultural experience and thereby make them more aware of themselves and of their responsibilities towards each other...' (BLACKING 1987: 98) In Mark Davies's mind there is no doubt that singing is stronger because of the Countryside Alliance's campaign, and that the Countryside Alliance's cause is stronger because singing has been incorporated into its campaign.

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DIFFERENT TIMES: SAME PROBLEMS

THE RELEVANCE OF BALLADS IN THE PRESENT DAY

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Abstract: This paper based on Scottish ballads, aims to paint a contrast between the ethos of the world from which the ballads sprang and that of the present day, which seems so far removed from it. Then it will consider three ballads that will show that the human situations, emotions and problems they reflect, while they may be interpreted differently today, nevertheless show the unchanging character of human nature and the timelessness of the principles that help to resolve its problems. This along with the undying love of storytelling that is shared by people worldwide, suggests that ballads are as relevant today as when they were first sung. The three Scottish ballads I will consider are Alison Gross, Binnorie and The Bonnie Earl of Murray.

Keywords: witchcraft, hypnosis, murder and revenge, bones mourning

In the time from which our earliest ballads originated, there was among the general population no commonly held scientific knowledge, which would explain everyday phenomena. These were consequently interpreted according to what is now called superstition, but at one time would be regarded as spiritual insight. There was no universal schooling, no psychiatric medicine nor any religious tolerance. There was everywhere a habitual ascription of anything that could not be explained easily to magic and the supernatural. Those who believe in the supernatural are not necessarily to be found among the ignorant and uneducated. They are often people who are aware of a dimension to life other than the purely physical. Two or three centuries ago, phenomena that we take for granted as part of everyday life, would have seemed to the general population as the most impossible of dreams, which could be realised only through magic or witchcraft.

Those of our ballads that deal with the supernatural and magic of any kind are among our oldest. The fact that the singer or people generally today no longer believe such things, or so it is, not always correctly, assumed, should not affect the story told in character in, for example, the great witchcraft ballad, *Alison Gross*.[1] To hear it sung by the late, great Lizzie Higgins[2], was an experience never to be forgotten. Lizzie believed deeply in the supernatural and her performance of the ballad was memorably blood-chilling.

[1] CHILD 35.

[2] Daughter of the great Jeannie Robertson MBE, Aberdeenshire ballad singer, and equally respected as a tradition bearer.

The witch in medieval times was not a figure of Halloween[3] fun with a broomstick and a pointed hat, but a real and very much-feared persona, believed to possess all kinds of powers. Our ballad tradition reveals several different types of individuals to whom were attributed the title of witch. Exemplified here is the one who exerts power over another's will in order to dominate that person completely. In *Alison Gross* a young man describes how the witch invites him to meet her in her "bower."

Auld Alison Gross she lives in yon tower
The ugliest witch in the North Countrie
She's trysted me ae nicht til her bower
An mony a braw speech she's made tae me.

*

She showed me a mantle o the reid scarlet,
Wrocht wi gold and fringes fine
Gin ye'll be my leman sae true
This guidly gift it sall be thine.

Alison Gross is apparently not an old hag, but a lusty young one. Many of those who were burned as witches were not old; some were what would nowadays be called teenagers. We have also to keep in mind that, centuries ago, people's life expectancy was much less than today. He refers to her as ugly, but that may be because her reputation as "the ugliest witch in the North countrie" makes her frightening and dangerous.

He steadfastly refuses all her offers, of "a mantle o the reid scarlet" or "a *sark* (shirt) o the saftest silk" or "a cup o the guid red gold", so she then proceeds to use her supernatural power to transform him into an ugly reptile. The verse is worth quoting:

Then oot she tane a silver wand
An she 's turned her three times roun an roun
She's muttered sic words that my strength it failed
An I fell doon senseless upon the groun.

After this, it seems he "became" a loathly serpent coiled round a tree. The figure of the worm or serpent crops up in some of our oldest ballads and could be a folk memory of pre-historic times or could remind people of the Garden of Eden story from Genesis that the Christian missionaries would have imprinted on people's consciousness.

Yet to his sister Maisry, he must still appear to be a man, because she comes every Saturday night "wi a *siller* (silver) basin and a siller kame " to delouse his head, as family members did for each other customarily in those days. This in itself has

[3] Celtic festival of Sabhain known in English as All Hallows Eve and in Scots as Halloween.

become a motif for family intimacy and affection, in ballads and folktales all over Europe. She still regarded him as a human being and still loved him as her brother. When we re-read the verse quoted above, it seems that what has been practised on the young man would be recognised and understood today under a different name. Hypnosis is not a modern invention. But here we have its use described in a way that would fit the way it is practised even today, when a hypnotist may use an object and movements to relax a subject and tell him in a low voice that he will go to sleep. After he wakes, he may well believe he is changed into someone or something else and act accordingly.

This has been seen in public, in stage acts, which abuse the use of hypnosis, which is more properly used in hospitals and clinics. Alison Gross of course uses the power abusively and maliciously. The young man believes he is a "worm" and must "toddle aroon the tree". This symbolises the subjection in which he is held by Alison Gross, which must be of a sexual nature, since the snake is traditionally also a phallic symbol. As he cannot any longer see himself as a man, it also means he is rendered impotent by the power of the witch. Her evil thought is, like all evil thoughts, basically selfish: if she cannot have him as a lover, she won't let anyone else. A practising hypnotherapist pointed out to me, that people cannot be induced by hypnosis to do anything that is against their nature. What Alison Gross did with her spell was to play on the young man's doubts of his own worth and adequacy. This is the way evil always works.

When people's choices are taken from them, they are like those in the ballads, held under an evil spell. What makes the ballad even more powerful is that the motifs encode a type of human experience with which many human beings can identify: modern victims of sexual harassment and abuse would understand *Alison Gross* as the personification of their nightmares.

Binnorie or The Twa Sisters[4] is a Scottish version of a ballad and story found all over Europe, sometimes called *The Singing Bone*[5]. Two heiresses are wooed by one knight, possibly initially more interested in their land, but the fact that he falls in love with the younger one, suggests this is not so. The elder one is jealous and entices her sister to the water's edge and drowns her, ignoring her cries for help. Her corpse is dragged out of the miller's dam and seen to be that of a rich lady. A passing harper/fiddler makes an instrument out of her bones and/or strings it with her hair. When he is in the king/lord's banqueting hall, the harp/fiddle "plays its lane" and reveals not only the murder, but also the murderer.

The widespread distribution of this motif of murder revealed from the bone or bones of the victim, while it may appear in the ballad as a mysterious and wonderful occurrence, can be seen in modern times in terms of forensic science and pathology. We are quite accustomed to seeing archaeological research produce bones, from which doctors and scientists can deduce cause and circumstances of death, and have

[4] CHILD 10.

[5] See Child's introduction to the ballad The Twa Sisters CHILD 10.

seen murder cases solved from finger-prints, bloodstains, teeth, hair and bones, and now in DNA, in ways that would have been thought supernatural in medieval times. To make a ballad and sing it at the royal court would make it the hottest property around and to make the excuse that the harp or fiddle "played its lane" would be a good way of avoiding being strung up for singing it. In modern parlance, one term used for someone confessing to a crime, or revealing incriminating evidence is "singing".

This brings me to the third ballad I want to consider *The Bonnie Earl o Moray*[6]. He was a great folk hero in his day, an aristocrat but beloved by the common people in the reign of James VI. When he was tricked into an ambush prepared for him by his enemy the Earl of Huntly, and cruelly murdered, there was a great public outcry that generated enormous compassion – not to mention who knows how many ballads, two of which have come down to us. The modern parallel I wish to draw is with the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, which seemed to trigger a similar popular response and which is still surrounded by all kinds of unresolved rumour and speculation. Probably the truth will never be known about the death of the Bonnie Earl. But oral tradition has a knack of mirroring the reality of the situation.

Ye Hielans an ye Lawlans o whaur hae ye been?
They hae slain the Earl o Moray an hae laid him on the green.
He was a braw callant an he rade at the ring
An the bonnie Earl o Moray, he micht hae been a king.

Sandy Ives in his IBC paper in LA in 1993,[7] quoted a contemporary source, that described Moray as "The most weirlyk man baith in curage and person, for he was a comelie personage of a great stature and strang of bodie like a kemp". To capture and kill such a man would take a bit of doing.

The rivalry between him and the Earl of Huntly was typical of the period. The feud went back to a previous generation, when Regent Murray had the Earl of Huntly and one of his sons executed. The deep principle of feudal vengeance demanded blood for blood. In modern times this is looked on as gangsterism. The Earl's body was exhibited publicly by his mother with all its wounds. "They hae slain the Earl o Moray and hae laid him on the green," corresponds with facts that are known about his death. The details are fairly blood-curdling. When he was attacked by the Earl of Huntly and his followers in Donibristle House, which was set on fire, he ran out with his hair ablaze and was cut down in the grounds, where his dead body was found. The reference to the idea that "he micht hae been a king" could be a compliment to his prowess but could refer to the fact that he was believed to have had an affair with the Queen who was Anne of Denmark. The ballad certainly implicates him in the verse:

[6] CHILD 181.
[7] IBC Conference 1993 proceedings *Ballads and Boundaries*, 1994. p. 135.

O wae be tae ye Huntly and wherefore did ye sae?
I bade ye bring him wi you but forbade ye him tae slay.
He was a braw callant and he rade at the glove
An the bonnie Earl o Moray, he was the Queen's true love!

The public mourning for the bonnie Earl was widespread and heartfelt and what would be called today OTT. The murder was described by an Edinburgh lawyer as shameful and causing "the greit regret and lamentation of the haill pepill." In Moray's day, the body of a murdered man could be seen by the public, with all his wounds.

People long ago were seldom spared having the brutal realities of violence shown to them; nowadays, in Scotland, we protect ourselves from such rude shocks. But the mass hysteria and piles of flowers do not seem to me to reflect any real ability to confront and cope with the barbarity it is meant to counteract. The calls for retribution and punishment of Huntly for the death of the bonnie Earl, although they were loud enough, seemed to fall on deaf ears and Huntly was never punished. The story finds many echoes in the present day, when the tragic death in mysterious circumstances of admired and popular young men or women, like Princess Diana or Jack Kennedy, can be mourned to even greater excess before film and televison cameras. It can also be seen that the mourning that follows the tragedy can distort the situation to the extent that it increases the charisma of the victim beyond reason.

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WOMEN AS THE CHIEF PRESERVERS OF TRADITIONAL BALLAD POETRY[1]

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Abstract: F. J. Child argued that it is "mainy through women everywhere" that the ballads are preserved and yet to him, as to Percy, Herder, Motherwell or Grundtvig before, women are only the mediators of an older male form of literature (heroic ballads, minstrel song, etc). The essential maternal feminity of orality is part of the German Romantic myth of origin. The 'Volk'/people had to be (kept) anonymous in order to produce 'VOLKSballaden'/popular ballads. What has come down to us in writing are very often ballads sung by women, recorded by men and presented as the 'manly', powerful, genuine ballads of the people. By arguing for women everywhere being the chief preservers of traditional ballad poetry, F. J. Child paved the way for seeking out these women locally.

Keywords: gender folklore, Scottish ballads, gesunkenes Kulturgut, Herder, Child

When in the second half of the nineteenth century Francis James Child began to seek out and collect all the truly popular[2] ballads in the English language in all their forms, he concentrated his search on manuscripts, broadsides and early printed editions. He would have liked to have included ballads from oral tradition but his many appeals to collect old songs and ballads were not crowned with success. In "Prof. Child's Appeal", published in London in 1873, the Harvard professor gives details of his plans and intentions:

> I am engaged in preparing an edition of the English and Scottish Ballads, which is intended to embrace all the truly 'popular' ballads in our language, in all their forms. I purpose [sic] to get in every case as near as possible to genuine texts, collating manuscripts, and early printed books and broadsides, and discarding editorial changes not critically justifiable. To do this to the full extent, it is essential that I should have the use of the original transcripts of ballads derived from recitation in recent times. I should especially wish to see David Herd's and Mrs. Brown's manuscripts. [...]

[1] This article first appeared in German in *Gender – Culture – Poetics,* the Festschrift for Natascha Würzbach.

[2] '*Popular*' not in the sense of 'well-liked' but of 'belonging to the people' (Latin: *populus*).

> Something also must still be left in the memory of men, or better, of *women*, who have been the chief preservers of ballad-poetry. May I entreat the aid of gentlewomen in Scotland, or elsewhere, who remember ballads that they have heard repeated by their grandmothers or nurses? May I ask clergymen and schoolmasters, living in sequestered places, to exert themselves to collect what is left among the people? And if I should be so fortunate as to interest anybody in this search, may I beg that everything be set down *exactly* as repeated, and that the smallest fragment of a ballad be regarded as worth saving ([CHILD] 1873).

In this appeal, Child not only asks for information on ballads in general but he specifically urges male clergymen and teachers, living in remote areas, to note the traditional ballads among the people. They are most likely to be successful among women, suggests Child, for in his opinion, there is to be no doubt: "*women* [...] have been the chief preservers of ballad-poetry." Women are most likely the ones to remember the songs from their early childhood; the songs and ballads older women, especially their grandmothers and nursemaids, used to sing.

I.

Women as the chief preservers of English and Scottish ballad poetry – this is the topic of my paper and yet, as Mary Ellen Brown has observed recently, basic research is still missing in this field, especially when it comes to comparative repertoire studies of men and women,

> which might suggest in a more definitive way whether there were indeed differences, and if so, what those differences might suggest, in general, about women's and men's choice of songs, about gender-related repertoires. As yet there have been so few extended repertoire studies, which ideally link individuals, their lives and times, with texts and tunes, that it is difficult to make even these tentative kinds of conclusions (BROWN 1997: 50).

Therefore, it is necessary to concentrate first on the poetical and theoretical assumptions of the eighteenth and nineteenth century underlying Child's dictum about women being the chief preservers of tradition before embarking on the more practical applications of gendered repertoire studies by drawing on examples from oral tradition among Scottish women in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

For it is no coincidence that Child appealed for help to the singing women of Scotland. Bishop Percy had in the mid eighteenth century already turned to Scotland, Wales, Ireland and the North of England in search of old songs and ballads. Thus he writes to his friend and adviser William Shenstone in 1761:

> It is in the remote and obscure parts of the kingdom, that I expect to find curiosities of the kind I want. Many curious old Songs are there preserved, of which no traces remain elsewhere: In the more southern part of this Island fashion and novelty have greater sway and cause those old things to be neglected and forgotten (in BROOKS 1977: 109).

Just as Percy believed that 'fashion and novelty' pushed the old and traditional things aside, so did Child one hundred years later when he put the blame on the introduction of book-culture, the rise of general education and technical advances, especially the introduction of the railroads (CHILD 1868: 33)!

Underlying Child's argument is the belief in the cultural development of mankind in progressive stages. As long as the people are homogeneous and think and feel as one and as long as no distinction can be made with regards to social class, knowledge and desire, the poetry the people produce is still popular and genuine. For unity in ideas and feelings leads to unity in poetry. The popular ballad, according to Child, is therefore "an expression of the mind and heart of the people as an individual, and never of the personality of individual men" (CHILD [1874]: 214). Just as this primaeval unity comes to an end with an increase in civilization, the poetry of the people ("the popular poetry") is eclipsed by the poetry of the individual ("the poetry of art"). The term 'popular poetry' was first used – in the form of *'poësi populaire'* – by Michel de Montaigne in 1580 and later by J. G. Herder as *'Volkspoesie'* (see RÖLLEKE 1975: 463). Since Herder's distinction between *'Volkspoesie'* and *'Kunstpoesie'* is not only echoed but, moreover, exemplified by Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, a short introduction to Herder's thinking on *'Volkspoesie'* in relation to women may be useful.

Following Rousseau and Hamann, Herder posited nature as something original, genuine and unspoilt, something in opposition to reason as well as to the development of culture and society. *'Volkspoesie'* springs from nature and the popular ballads' authenticity is vouchsafed by the spirit, that is to say, the poetic style of the ballads themselves, being 'so short, so powerful, so *masculine*, so fragmented in pictures and sentiments' (HERDER [1773]: 8; emphasis mine). With their leaping and lingering, their free and vivid language, the popular ballad reveals its original unspoilt nature, or to use Herder's words, the symbolic, the powerful, the primaeval or in short, the masculine. The original – the masculine – is postulated. The contemporary – and that is the feminine – is also nothing more than a theoretical construct: it is a relic of the masculine. Herder argued, as Child was to do a century later, that with the beginning of civilization the primaeval, masculine poetry is no longer to be experienced directly but only indirectly, that is to say, mediated through 'unspoilt children, women and people of good common nature' (HERDER [1773]: 35).

With 'masculine' and 'feminine' Herder refers, above all, to the different forms of poetic style that manifest themselves in ballad poetry. And yet his use of gender terminology is not metaphorical or coincidental since he elaborates on the distinction between the sexes by describing men as the original and women and children as

the contemporary bearers of tradition. Indeed, it speaks volumes that his critics, and here especially Nicolai and Rammler, put the label *'Ammengeschwätz'* (the prattle of the nursemaids) on the poetry of the people and that Herder in turn used the derogatory term *'Küchenlieder'* (songs for the kitchen) to connote the haughty, self-indulging and no longer innovative poetry of his time (see BRAUNGART 1996: 17), i.e. the poetry of art. Both labels refer to the world of women and are used in a disparaging way. Admirers and critics of popular poetry are thus in total agreement on this one point, namely that masculine composition is the origin and goal of all poetry.

And yet contemporary criticism and ridicule of popular poetry did not pass Herder by as becomes apparent in his extremely apologetic introduction to the second part of his popular songs. And indeed, we have to thank his wife Karoline Flachsland for his *'Stimmen der Völker in Liedern'*, as his collection is widely known, judging by a letter Herder wrote to Gleim: 'Not least owing to your endeavours and inspirations, my wife did not let off until I had the folksongs arranged and – namely one part – prepared for publication' (in RÖLLEKE 1975: 478).

Herder himself was inspired and confirmed in his own undertakings by two collections of poetry, namely by *Fragments of Ancient Poetry – [Ossian]*, compiled and edited by the Scotsman James MACPHERSON (1760) and by *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* by the Englishman Bishop PERCY (1765). From today's perspective, however, Herder's enthusiasm must be viewed with mixed feelings since it has by now become all too apparent that neither of these publications is what it pretends to be, i.e. fragments or relics of the primaeval, genuine, unspoilt poetry of mankind.

The enormous influence Macpherson's faked Ossian as well as Percy's amendments and rewritings of the English and Scottish ballad tradition had, was still to be felt a century later – at least as far as the popular ballad was concerned. Percy's and Macpherson's collections were, no doubt, products of their time and yet a distinction their works partly provided and partly gave rise to, namely the distinction between the poetry of nature and the poetry of art was to be an interpretative model collectors and editors of the national ballad collections in the nineteenth century still felt they could use (RIEUWERTS 1994) – explicitly mentioned here are F. J. Child for the English ballads and Svend Grundtvig for the Danish.

The distinction between the poetry of the people and the poetry of art, however, causes numerous problems with regards to the role of women in oral tradition. According to Child, the poetry of art supersedes the poetry of nature, "the poetry of art appears; the popular poetry is no longer relished by a portion of the people, and is abandoned to an uncultivated or not over-cultivated class – a constantly diminishing number" (CHILD [1874]: 214). As *'gesunkenes Kulturgut'*, sunken culture, ballads linger on through those deemed to be the not over-civilized or even uneducated classes of society. As Tom Cheesman observed, such stage-managing of traditional song and poetry is for the newly discovered marginalised groups a two-edged sword. "While it served to introduce the voices of the dispossessed into salon dialogues, at the same time it disempowered those voices: the concept of 'folk' literature denied their synchronicity with the voices of those citing them" (CHEESMAN 1991: 86).

II.

Among these disempowered voices were those of women. Since women were to F. J. Child the chief preservers of ballad poetry, he consequently had to count them among the 'not-overly civilized' classes of society. Owing to their (allegedly) lower standard of education, or to rephrase it positively, owing to their (allegedly) more effective way of memorisation in compensation for their poor command of reading and writing, the old relics of poetry that once unified the people remained with them for much longer. The preservation of the old popular ballads is thus not only a question of geography (remote, uncivilized spaces), but furthermore of gender (women as uneducated).

Women may have been ennobled as the chief preservers of the ballad tradition but it is important not to ignore that their role was disparaged: women were seen as the weakest and also the last link in a long chain of tradition. They were the preservers of a *'gesunkenes Kulturgut'*. Only on this low level, were women the preservers of ballad poetry. Originally the ballads were composed by men and yet, it is said, that the golden age of ballad lore is long gone. Only relics of this originally 'masculine' golden age of poetry were at times to be found among women. Therefore, the interest did not rest with women and their songs but with the lost 'masculine' poetry that was supposed to have found expression in their songs.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century it was neither seen as important to give an authentic record of their repertoires nor to study what songs these women sang and how they sang them. Almost the opposite was the case: the fact that women sang these songs and ballads had to be disguised or ennobled by Herder's ballad theory. Only in this way could women's songs enter into salon dialogues and conform with contemporary poetic taste. The *'Volk'*/the people must be kept anonymous in order to sing and write *'Volk'sballaden/* the poetry of the 'people'. To put it more bluntly, what has come down to us in written form are often orally transmitted ballads stage-managed as the 'masculine', powerful, and original poetry of the people.

Even Herder's and Child's statement that it is chiefly through women everywhere that ballads are preserved, is embedded in this myth: "the essential maternal femininity of orality is part of the German Romantic myth of origin" (CHEESMAN–RIEUWERTS 1997: 15). That women *locally*, that is to say empirically verifiable and not only theoretically construed as women *everywhere*, preserve the old popular ballads was well known to Child judging by his many detailed references in his collection. And yet, Child's interest was not directed towards the women singers or to oral tradition, but to the ballad texts themselves. The recorded and edited songs were fashioned as museum pieces without asking questions about the authenticity of the ballad recording or about references to the ballads' cultural background. This alleged poetry of the people is no less artificial than its opposite number, the poetry of art. That this dichotomy is problematic also becomes apparent by the fact that the collections of popular ballad poetry themselves were the result of an artistic, learned and philological study that found its expression in lists of works cited and editorial notes (see BRAUNGART 1996: 17).

The notes of the male editors – no ballad collections are known to have been edited by women in the eighteenth and nineteenth century – exhaust themselves in linguistic and historical observations; they were hardly any references made to the Sitz-im-Leben of these ballads before Child's monumental critical edition. Indeed, it was never about the individual but about a group of people, about a regional, national or linguistic community. The individual was regarded as an unfailing characteristic of the poetry of art. Thus, it is hardly surprising that each individual trait was cancelled out by generalisation or was completely wiped out. If at all, then it is only possible to ascertain the Sitz-im-Leben by painstaking analysis, by examining and studying the extant manuscripts, diaries and correspondence – a project for the popular ballads on which no one, to my knowledge, has yet embarked.

Natascha Würzbach encountered similar problems in her study of the English street ballad. According to Würzbach, it would have been necessary, 'to collect as much data as possible about the life of the recipients at the time and the contemporary value systems, in order to understand better the individual references in the texts' (WÜRZBACH 1981: 357) in order to situate the ballads culturally and historically as well as to define the genre along pragmatic lines. And yet, because we are not dealing with generally accepted literature, we face great problems in 'situating the ballad genre culturally and historically by the reconstruction of an historical audience, its expectations, tastes and ways of reception' for example (WÜRZBACH 1981: 357). Furthermore, the study of the Sitz-im-Leben of the popular ballads is not helped by the fact that they mainly belong to a private sphere and thus come from a performance-related, highly personal context. If the street ballad, as Würzbach's study shows, was directed at 'entertainment, education and topicality' (WÜRZBACH 1981: 357), then surely the popular ballad is concerned with transmitting a communal spirit. And these questions about the singers and the performance situation for instance must be studied today despite the fact that these are also the ones the first ballad collectors in the field failed to ask.

III.

It is now time to take a second look at the relationship between women and oral tradition. Who were these women, what songs and ballads did they sing on what occasions and for whom? These are the questions I would like to focus on, confining myself to the Scottish ballad tradition of the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

Unlike his colleague William Walker of Aberdeen, who was his co-worker and helper in the final stages of his monumental ballad collection, Child did not know the Scottish ballad tradition from his own experience or personal narration; he did not know "the mothers and nurses of fifty or sixty years ago, with their tenacious memories, and ready faculty for lilting and adapting old-world songs, while they fondled, soothed, or amused their young charges" (WALKER 1915: 204).

Oral tradition by women is to the Harvard professor remembering, forgetting and at times 'dis/improving'. A creative, new way of dealing with and adapting tradi-

tional texts and tunes from oral tradition was not considered by Child. Walker on the other hand knew only too well that Scottish women did not only preserve songs of an alleged prehistoric time but that they sang, improvised and adapted these songs. His observations on the 'lilting and adapting old-world songs' are based on Scottish women singers in the mid nineteenth century. Surprisingly, however, Walker shares Child's notion that with the rise of a reading culture and the spread of printed songs and ballads, the art of "improvisation and impromptu adaptation" is dying out. "No such thing is heard now – the gift seems lost, or is only found in the most outlying districts" (WALKER 1915: 204).

The way traditional material has been transmitted may have changed but that is not to say that the old songs have died out. On the other hand, the fact that ballads are still sung in Scotland and elsewhere today – many years after Child and other ballad scholars have tolled the death bell for this type of poetry – cannot be made into an argument against Child's theory about the end of ballad making. Quite on the contrary, Child would have expected this to be the case. He clearly distinguished between the *popular ballads*, i.e. the old traditional ballads of an alleged prehistoric time and the *folk ballads*, i.e. the songs and ballads that can enter into the tradition at any time (see RIEUWERTS 1996).

For *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* Child was – as the title suggests – only interested in the *popular ballads* not, however, in the *folk ballads* or even the *broadsides*. And yet, he saw himself compelled to admit the latter as long as there was a spark of a popular ballad glimmering in them. He himself had to admit that his own poetical and theoretical distinction could not altogether be put into practice. In any case, this distinction was an alien concept to the traditional women singers. As pointed out before, it is a philosophical and poetical construct that can be traced back to the poets and printers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century 'discovering' women as singers and potential customers of traditional poetry.

Even the earliest English and Scottish ballad collections at the beginning of the eighteenth century cannot support the notion that there exists – perhaps in very remote places – a pure oral culture in Scotland. The one song collection that influenced oral tradition more than any other was Allan Ramsay's *Tea-table Miscellany* (RAMSAY [1723–1737]). This collection of poems, songs and ballads was published in four volumes between 1723 and 1737 and was intended for women, regardless of their social standing. Without making any textual changes, the songs that were previously sold as half-pennies and broadsheets in the streets of Edinburgh, were now compiled and sold as a book to which women of higher society subscribed. Scottish songs and ballads were in great demand by women at the royal court or by the common milking maid. The literature of the common people and that of the literate elite were still one and the same. With its mixture of old and new poems, ballad imitations, opera songs, street literature and traditional ballads, the *Tea-table Miscellany* was the unrivalled beststeller of the British Isles in the eighteenth century (RIEUWERTS 1999).

How great the impact of Ramsay's *Tea-table Miscellany* really was at that time can be measured by the great number of pirated editions and imitations, or even the

collections advertising themselves with the help of Ramsay's *Miscellany;* one example is *The Nightingale*, a collection of songs printed in Edinburgh in 1776 which bears the subtitle: "*A Collection of Ancient and Modern Songs, Scots and English, None of Which are in Ramsay*"! Furthermore, the first field-collectors in Scotland complain time and again that Allan Ramsay's remodelling effects and often supersedes the old traditional songs. For example, William Laidlaw, a close friend and co-worker of Sir Walter Scott's, has this to report:

> I had begun to enquire, and write down from the repeating of old women and the singing of the servant girls, everything I could hear of, and was constantly aroused by vexation at two circumstances, namely, finding how much the affectation and false taste of Allan Ramsay constantly annoyed me instead of what I wanted, and had superseded the many striking and beautiful old songs and ballads of all kinds that I got traces and remnants of; and again, in discovering how much Mr. Scott had been too late – from the accounts I received of many men and women who had been the bards and depositories of the preceding [sic] generation (in MONTGOMERIE 1966: 26 n 59).

Aytoun's *Ballads of Scotland* helps to confirm Laidlaw's observation:

> He [Ramsay] never felt any hesitation in altering, retouching, and adding to the old material which fell into his hands, so as to suit it to the prevalent taste of the age; thereby throwing great difficulty in the way of his successors (AYTON 1858/1: xxi).

Where are those women then who pass down ballads in oral tradition? Are they still around, asks Child with melancholy in his voice. He mentions at the same time a number of women helping Sir Walter Scott with his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1868):

> Where are the Mrs. Farquhars, the Mrs. Browns, the Mrs. Arnots, the Miss Rutherfords themselves, and the nurses who taught them ballads? Small hope, we acknowledge, of finding such nurses any more, or such foster-children, and yet it cannot be that the diffusion of useful knowledge, the intrusion of railroads, and the general progress of society, have quite driven all the old songs out of country-women's heads – for it will be noted that it is mainly through women everywhere –
>
> > 'The spinsters and the knitters in the sun,
> > And the free maids that weave their thread with bones' –
>
> that ballads have been preserved (CHILD 1868: 33).

IV.

Where are those women then? "Any lady, maidservant, fishwife, dairywoman or nurse" must be brought – if necessary under threat of punishment – to give up all the ballads known to them, wrote Child jokingly in a letter to his friend James Russell Lowell (*Scholar-Friends* 1970: 57) and yet, Child's appeals remained in the main unanswered.

A woman with the repertoire of a Mrs Brown was not to be found. "No Scottish ballads are superior in kind to those recited in the last century by Mrs Brown of Falkland" wrote CHILD in his introduction to the *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1882–1898/1: vii). And indeed, even today the repertoire of Mrs Anna (Gordon) Brown of Falkland (1747–1810) is considered to be one of the oldest and best preserved in Scotland. Even more importantly in our context is the fact that her repertoire is a genuine female repertoire, sung and handed down by women:

> Anna Gordon's ballads are stories of a woman's tradition; her three immediate sources were women, and the most important of the three, Anne Farquharson, derived hers from the nurses and old women of Allanaquoich (BUCHAN 1972: 64).

Anna Gordon, or Mrs Brown of Falkland as she was later called, learned her songs in early childhood from her own mother and her mother's sister, namely her aunt Ann (Forbes) Farquharson from Aberdeen. She claimed that she never saw the texts written down until her ballads were published by Sir Walter Scott and Robert Jamieson. All of them were derived from oral tradition and handed down by generations of women.

This is the first and most important reason why Mrs Brown is significant in our study of women and the oral tradition of the English and Scottish popular ballads. The second reason is her remarkable discomfort at the thought of being named in public in connection with oral tradition. She and her husband were dismayed to see her name being mentioned in Sir Walter Scott's introduction to the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (SCOTT 1868/1: 170–71). She wanted to remain anonymous and pleaded with Jamieson not to make the same mistake in his ballad edition. Why she could not take her name being mentioned publicly in connection with old popular ballad poetry as a compliment is still an unresolved question. And the third and not least important reason for studying Mrs Brown is her strong personality as a singer and her remarkable art of singing from oral tradition (see BUCHAN 1972: 51–173). It is astounding that her ballads were exactly what Child was looking for (complete and in the authentic ballad style) but that her personality as a singer in no way matched his ideal. Anna (Gordon) Brown was no uneducated woman on the fringes of society but daughter of a professor and wife to a minister with no children of her own. She wrote poetry, was familiar with Macpherson's and Percy's collections and admired Ramsay's *Tea-table Miscellany*!

A woman that more easily fits into Child's image of a ballad singer is Mrs Storie,

born Mary Macqueen. Although she could read and write, she was – unlike Anna (Gordon) Brown – not particularly well educated. In his detailed account of Mary Macqueen, her family and her local circle, Andrew Crawfurd described her as coming from "a travelling or some such a tinklar family." She served as a maid in Boghead, in the parish of Lochwinnoch, before she married the weaver William Storie in the year 1821 and moved with him and their four children to Canada in 1828. One year before they left, the twenty-six year old had her songs recorded: "The same Mary Macqueen has a great number of auld ballads which I had fished out of her for Mr William Motherwell" (in LYLE 1975–1996/1: xxx) wrote Crawfurd. Indeed, Motherwell accepted fourteen of Mary's ballads in his collection and employed Mary's brother Tom, the local poet, song-writer and journalist to be, to hunt down the orally transmitted ballads in Ayrshire, Galloway and Dumfries (see LYLE 1975–1996/2: xviii and xxviii). Some songs of her extensive repertoire – among them twenty-two Child ballads – Mary owed to her brother Tom. Most of her songs, however, she learnt from her mother, her grandmother and her great-grandmother (LYLE 1975–1996/1: xxxi).

To read and to write was no problem to her and thus, it can come as no surprise that *broadsides* and *garlands* have influenced her repertoire greatly. With Emily Lyle's recently completed edition of the Crawfurd Manuscripts (for the Scottish Text Society) to hand, such detailed repertoire studies have now become possible. In the songs printed and sung (by Jo Miller on an accompanying tape) and commented on (by Emily Lyle), Mary Macqueen's songs come alive – they are embedded in their own time and world. Here is where to begin then the empirical and context-related work on the popular ballad and to continue the work Natascha Würzbach began in her studies of the English street ballad.

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IN BOUNDARIES OF BALLADS

"ANIMALS BURY THE HUNTER" – ETHICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL ELEMENTS OF THE SLOVENE BALLAD

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Abstract: The Slovene ballad *Animals Bury the Hunter* is an animal narrative song of jocular character. It tells of the burial of a hunter and of a funeral procession not composed of humans but wild animals (a bear, foxes, hares, a wolf, cranes and partridges, song birds, etc.) who seem to derive great joy from the event.

The analysis of the song's 31 variants reveals the changes made to the song over the course of time, as it survived through different historical periods and spread throughout Slovenia. I attempt to show that the ballad was used as a model for painted beehive panels featuring the same motif. In addition to the analysis, I am concerned with the sociological and ethical elements of the ballad.

The paper proposes at least three possible theses:

1. The song is part of the conception of a topsy-turvy world, where the roles and mutual relationships of people and animals are reversed in an ironic sociological view of the world.

2. The song is a critique of one class by another: peasants mocking hunters who belong to a different social stratum.

3. The song is a representation of "pre-Cartesian" times, when animals were not "mere machines" without feelings, to be treated by man as objects with no ethical significance. It points to the ethical aspects of the human treatment of animals.

Keywords: Slovenian ballad, animal jocular narrative folk song, textology, folklore, folk art, ecology.

When researching the ballad tradition in terms of its content and form, and reaching into its inner structure, we inevitably find at the centre the human being and his attitude to the world, his environment, his fellow man and, finally, to animals. In seeking to discover the ethical and sociological aspects of an individual ballad we encounter two of man's views towards the other creatures around him which we cannot ignore. The first is the anthropocentric view of the world reflected by the majority of ballads, while the other is a non-anthropocentric view.[1] The first of these views places the human being at the centre of the world – as the crown of creation – while the second shows him as occupying the same position as other living creatures. Most ballads express the former view but a few, those in which animals appear, give

[1] Of course uncovering the ethical elements in such a song should not only derive from human ethics, it must also contain ethical behaviour towards animals, otherwise we are only researching the anthropocentric aspect of the song.

the impression that they perhaps contain a reflection of the idea that man is merely a part of nature, or that in a 'topsy-turvy world' his rule could soon come to an end.[2] We may also observe that man is sometimes humbly prepared to put off his crown, or that a respectful attitude to other creatures contributes to this, or that the animals in the song take it from him whether he wishes it or not.

The Slovene ballad tradition contains a whole cycle of narrative songs – ballads – featuring animals. In most cases the animals in these songs have taken on human characteristics and act and live like human beings, although the representation of animals may be a hidden truth about man, his life and his foolishness, a hidden truth wrapped in the skin of an animal, as a way of mocking this foolishness. All of these images were human projections of what actually happened, or that which people secretly desired (and thus they also include criticism of social conditions, class strife or personal desires and resentments). Perhaps these songs also conceal man's personal attitude to animals.[3] Examples include songs about animal courtships and weddings and songs in which roles are reversed, e.g. the blackbird mocking the hunter, the sick blackbird, the fox and the cockerel.[4]

Many of these motifs also survive in Slovene folk art, on the famous beehive panels: the fox shaving the hunter,[5] the bear shooting the hunter, the tailors fleeing from the snail, animals riding in carriages, the bear chasing the hunter from the forest, the hunter dancing with the fox, hens driving a bear, hares playing in the snow, etc.

One of these ballads where 'the world is topsy-turvy or the right way round' is the Slovene ballad *The Animals Bury the Hunter* or *The Hunter's Funeral*, a jocular animal ballad, though some also classify it as part of the 'topsy-turvy world' song cycle. It was first written down by Frančišek Sedej in Cerkno, some time before 1873. Its subject matter probably dates from the Middle Ages or just after. It tells the story of the burial of the hunter, or of his funeral procession, which is not composed of human beings but of wild animals (a bear, a fox, hares, a wolf, cranes and partridges, songbirds etc.), who seem to derive great joy from the event.

The archive of the Institute of Ethnomusicology contains thirty-one versions of this song (the last version was recorded in 1999 at Brkini in south-west Slovenia). The song has undergone several changes of text and melody, and the context of its message has also changed. Asked about the meaning of the song, most singers replied that it was jocular, old, that they had learnt it from their parents, that they had heard it in live folk singing etc., that it was entertaining, and that that was why they

[2] See Luc FERRY, *Novi ekološki red: drevo, žival in človek* (1998) – the title of original: *Le nouvel ordre écologique*, Editions Grasset & Fasquelle, 1992.; see also the essay by the poet Jure DETELA, 'Ekologija, ekonomija preživetja in živalske pravice', *Nova revija* (Ljubljana, 1988), pp. 1473–1484.

[3] Albina ŠTRUBELJ'S statement is: "Man's attitude to animals is only revealed to us in folk traditions, narratives, songs, customs, beliefs, proverbs and sayings. But even this chapter of folk culture remains unresearched." (ŠTRUBELJ 1996: 458).

[4] Karel ŠTREKELJ, *Slovenske narodne pesmi*, Slovenska matica (Ljubljana, 1895–1898), (reprint) Nos. 924–1006.

[5] The motif of the fox shaving the hunter (*lisica brije lovca*) is an illustration of the saying '*briti norca iz koga*' or 'to make fun of someone'.

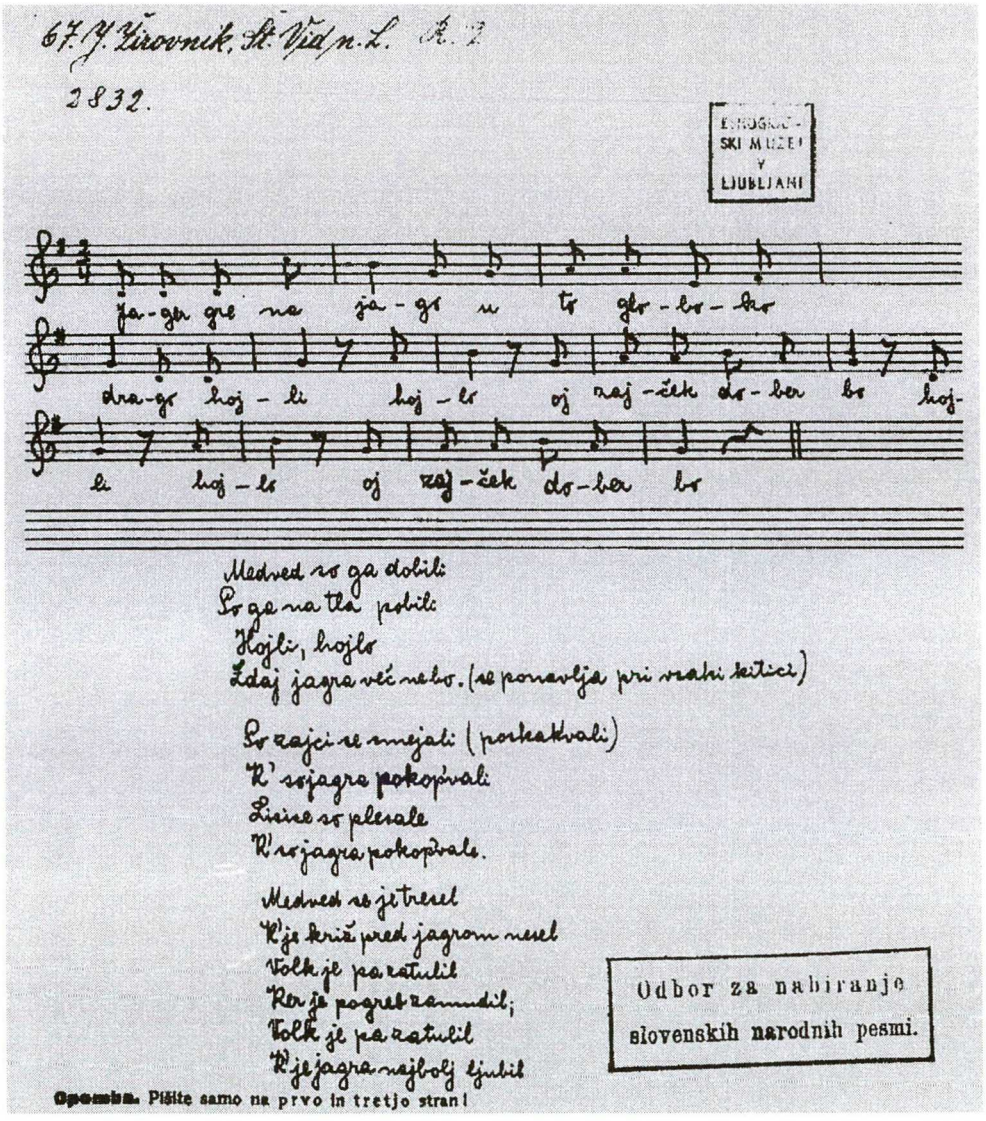

Fig. 1. From the Archive of the Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU, GNI OSNP 2832, recorded by J. Žirovnik, the end of the 19th century, Gorenjsko, Slovenia

liked it. The song did not have a special role in ceremonies or customs. The first recorded version (Š 970) contains all the animals (hares, fox, bear, wolf, cranes, partridges, little birds) which rejoiced at the death of the hunter, as can be seen from the refrain. The song is from Primorska, Slovenia's littoral, and later spread throughout Slovenia. Other versions are from Štajerska, Gorenjska and Bela Krajina. The story is a simple one and the song is not particularly dramatic – unlike the

event it describes. In most versions the song has seven verses and each verse focuses on a wild animal rejoicing in its own way at the death of the hunter, whom they are carrying to his funeral in a special procession. Because the animals are participants in the funeral they also play appropriate roles: the hares jump around and bury the hunter, the fox says the rosary or laughs, the bear carries a cross, and in some versions it is the bear who kills the hunter (in others it is the wolf). Some versions feature deer, some stags, and also crows. In most versions the wolf howls (in the sense of crying) because he has missed the funeral or because he loved the hunter best – ironically of course. In some versions the song begins with the hunter hunting hares, or just hunting, and the bear (or wolf – role-reversal) kills him, and then comes the funeral procession. Interestingly dogs are only present in this funeral procession in one version, from 1960 (GNI M 23.527). In this version they weep at the death of the hunter, which from the human point of view is perfectly logical since the dog was the hunter's faithful companion and the only domesticated animal in the procession. (On beehive panels the dog is the only animal depicted on all fours. All the wild animals walk upright on two legs.) The funeral procession is described as follows: the hunter went hunting and while out hunting was killed by the bear or the wolf. Now the wild animals (from deer and foxes to partridges and cranes) are carrying him to his funeral. Most of them are happy and they also perform the funerary duties, pray, carry the cross and bury him. At the end of the song the little birds, an additional fabulous element, carry his soul off to purgatory – and not, interestingly, to hell. There are no significant changes, except that sometimes the animals swap roles and sometimes other animals are added. How and why the hunter died is unclear in most versions, though some include a verse which recounts how the hunter was killed by the bear, which is also the most logical version. In the verse which describes how the wolf howled because he missed the funeral – since he was supposed to have loved the hunter the best – a considerable degree of sarcasm, mockery and irony can be detected (KUMER 1957: 160). An indication of the condensed nature of the text of the ballad is the fact that the last recorded version (Brkini, Primorska, 1999) preserves the entire content of the first known version and only differs from it in details. On the other hand the melodies are very different.

JAGER GRE NA JAGO/THE HUNTER GOES A-HUNTING

1.	Jager[6] gre na jago	The hunter goes a-hunting
	tam v zeleno drago,	Down in the leafy dell,
	hajli, hajlo	Hi-lee, hi-low,
	zdaj jagra več ne bo, ha ha,	The hunter now is gone, ha ha,
	hajli, hajlo	Hi-lee, hi-low,
	zdaj jagra več ne bo.	The hunter now is gone.

[6] I would like in passing to draw your attention to the word *jager* which we can see at the beginning of the ballad. This is a corruption of the German *Jäger* which was often used in folk songs in Slovene, although the proper Slovene word for 'hunter' is *lovec*.

2.	Vsi zajci so plesali, k so jagra pokopali, /: hajli, hajlo zdaj jagra več ne bo. :/	The rabbits all were dancing When they laid him in his grave, Hi-lee, hi-low The hunter now is gone.
3.	Lisica se smejala, k je jagra pokopala, /: hajli hajlo zdaj jagra več ne bo. :/	The fox he was a-laughing When they laid him in his grave Hi-lee, hi-low The hunter now is gone.
4.	Medved se je tresu, k je križ pred jagrom nesu, /: hajli, hajlo zdaj jagra več ne bo. :/	The bear was all a-quiver As he carried forth the cross, Hi-lee, hi-low, The hunter now is gone.
5.	Volk pa je zatulil, ker pogreb je zamudil, /: hajli, hajlo zdaj jagra več ne bo. :/	The wolf he was a-howling, for he did miss the funeral, Hi-lee, hi-low, The hunter now is gone.
6.	So prišle drobne ptice, so nesle dušo v vice, /: hajli, hajlo zdaj jagra več ne bo. :/	Then came tiny songbirds And bore his soul away, (in purgatory) Hi-lee, hi-low, The hunter now is gone.

From the Archive of the Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU – GNI DAT 103/5, recorded by Marjetka Golež Kaučič and Drago Kunej: 16.4.1999, tst. by MGK 2001, sung by Lidija Žnebelj, Gradišče, Primorsko, Slovenia.

On reading this ballad, which I admit entranced me because of the role-reversal of man and animals, I began to be interested in what hides below the surface, where the ballad comes from (in terms of time and also theme), and whether this ballad was also the basis for the beehive panels featuring this motif, or vice versa. I also asked myself whether the ballad and the beehive panels might perhaps appeared independently of each other. I began to try and discover the purpose and meaning of the ballad in the past and its importance for the present day.[7]

This motif is extremely widespread in the tradition of beehive panels. These examples of folk art first appeared in the 19th century and although similar subject matter can be found in lithographs and picture books from Central Europe, it seems that the painting of these beehive panels was directly influenced by this ballad. At the beginning of my research Professor Dr. Ildikó Kriza very kindly drew my atten-

[7] This paper is a mixture of the objective or demonstrable and the subjective or philosophical. Both apsects come from my own 'personal theory'.

tion to an essay by the Hungarian ethnologist Sándor Solymossy on a folk painting with the same title as our ballad and beehive panel ('The Hunter's Funeral'). This essay, written in 1915, looks at the origin and dissemination of this motif on folk paintings in Hungary and western Europe. (May I take this opportunity to offer my sincere thanks to Ildikó Kriza). The essay describes the international journey of this motif and reveals what is apparently the true model for it: *La procession de Renard*, the seventeenth episode of the French folk epic or collection of stories *Le Roman de Renard*[8] (this episode is only found in one fourteenth-century manuscript, although at least four manuscripts exist). The episode describes the funeral procession of an apparently dead fox. At some point during the development of the motif the fox was replaced by the hunter and thus we now have the hunter's funeral rather than the fox's funeral.[9] Sándor Solymossy talks about simple images adorning the walls of roadside inns, hunting lodges, the passages of simple forest houses. We even find them on a shaving kit. The motif is widespread in Hungary, among the southern Germans, in Austria and even in the Netherlands. The image may have spread with the help of lithographs or handbills (SOLYMOSSY 1915: 232). Solymossy also considers the possibility that the motif arrived in Hungary from animal fairy tales, which were often created so that their instructive stories could be used for religious purposes, or later for ridiculing individual monastic orders. Solymossy finds it interesting that the motif spread in Hungary in the form of images and not as a story. The story does not exist either in German or Hungarian folklore. But the motif is present in the Slovene ballad tradition, and this is perhaps even original, if we subscribe to the polygenetic theory. (MATIČETOV 1956: 127–128). Thus in Solymossy's opinion the motif of the popular folk painting 'The Hunter's Funeral' goes back to the *Renard* episode (from the late 13th/early 14th century) and its original roots can be discovered within the cycle of stories about the cunning fox.[10] How, when and why did the image find its way to Slovenia – and can we even say that the image came to Slovenia from elsewhere?

Let us look at an illustration of famous beehive panel about The Hunter's Funeral found in Slovenia: we see an unusual procession. In front, a fox and a bear walk on their hind legs; four hares carry a stretcher on which lies the dead hunter;

[8] See *Le Roman de Renard* (adaptation), Pierre de Beaumont, Hachette, Paris 1990.

[9] While researching the motif the author asks how a motif from a collection of stories about a cunning fox – in Slovenian language Lisica Zvitorepka (*Le Roman de Renard*) came to Germany and then to Hungary and why paintings show the funeral of a hunter and not a fox. He states that there was a painting of the fox's funeral in Münster Cathedral. Alongside the funeral ceremony was another picture of animals celebrating a Mass (1318). However this motif, which appeared sacrilegious to the Protestants, had to be removed in 1685. Since animals could not be in the position of priest they later made a 'pendant' image where a hunter rather than a fox lies in the coffin. The author also mentions a later image representing the resurrection of the apparently dead hunter, which was a pendant or complement to the first picture. This perhaps proves the connection with *Le Roman de Renard*.

[10] The Slovene word *prelisičiti* (from the word *lisica* meaning 'fox'), means to trick or dupe someone and derives from the belief that the fox is a very clever and cunning animal, capable of 'outfoxing' anyone – as in the Slovene folk song *Lisica je prav zvita zver* ('The Fox is a Truly Cunning Beast'). Slovene distinguishes between *lisica*, a vixen, and *lisjak*, a dog fox.

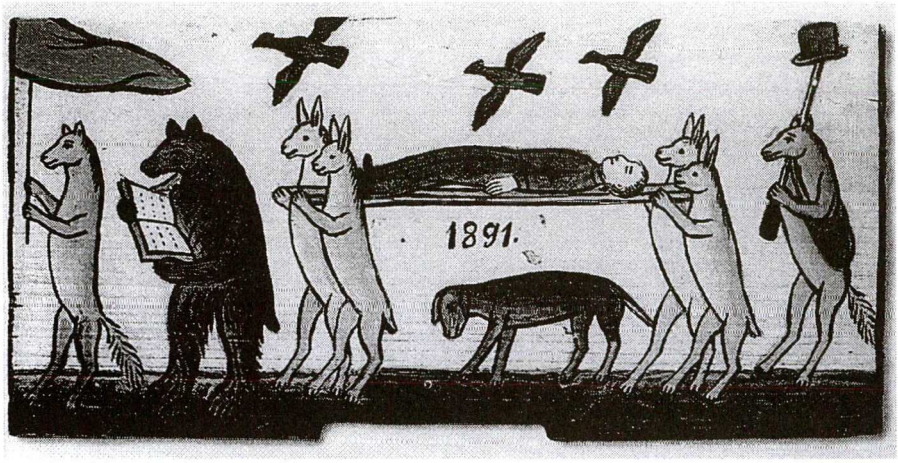

Fig. 2. Animals carrying a hunter to his funeral – photo of beehive panel. From the Archive of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, inv. no. 17086/13 × 27.5 cm/date: 1891, painted by Marija Pavlič, Selce v Selški dolini, Slovenia

deer and sometimes a fox walk at the back walk; in the middle of the picture is a dog walking on all fours, and above the stretcher birds fly.

Gorazd Makarovič, a researcher of beehive panels, believes that the model for the first beehive panel featuring this motif, which is dated 1787, was a corresponding print and that the painter simplified the motif, reduced it and adapted it to the elongated form of the panel. He also claims that panels featuring this scene with significant iconographic changes do not appear until the last third of the 19th century. These changes are supposed to have been caused by the copying of colour lithographs of this motif, which would have hung on the walls of inns and suchlike. According to Makarovič: 'Even images from the international motif family "the topsy-turvy world" lost their original sense, at least in certain rural environments. For example the scene in which the animals carry the hunter to his grave, playing the roles of human beings, is explained as the illustration of a story in which a hunter met with an accident and was carried off to his grave by the animals of the forest, or even as an illustration of special grace: the animals are supposed to have buried the hunter in answer to the prayer of his final hour. And thus for example a song from the rural oral tradition featuring this motif offers another interpretation: the animals killed the hunter and rejoice at his death.' (MAKAROVIČ–ROGELJ ŠKAFAR 2000: 30, 36 and 124)[11]. A completely different view is offered by the art historian Emilijan Cevc, whose starting point are the historical relations between the peasant and the professional hunter: 'The motif of the hunter – the official, professional gamekeeper –

[11] See also G. MAKAROVIČ, 'Poslikane panjske končnice', *Likovni zvezki*, Vol. 2 (Ljubljana, 1962), p. 128, where the author claims that this motif came to Slovenia from picture books and lithographs from Central Europe.

whom the beasts bury as in the folk song is an extremely eloquent one. Here the peasant with his common sense is in fact venting his anger at the absurd hunting law, the violation of which was for him a heroic act, but not a wicked one. The peasant's ideal is the wild hunter, whom he never ridicules as much as the bourgeois 'Sunday hunter' being shaved by the hares and foxes.' (CEVC 1955: 1072–1073). The wild hunter was a peasant himself – another reason for this vision of the professional hunter, which also points to relations between individual social strata. Helmut Kropej believes that this beehive panel belongs to the thematic cycle known as the 'topsy-turvy world'. In his opinion the concept of animals and human beings reversing their roles grew up in the thirteenth century, if we ignore parallels from Antiquity. In fabrications, farces and fables, proverbs and sayings, we encounter scenes where a hare pursues dogs or a hunter, where a sheep tears apart a wolf... 'From literary tradition comes Hans Sachs's famous farce *"die hasen fangen und praten den jeger"* ("The hares capture and roast the hunter").[12] To all the scenes which represent the two sides, the ruling and the ruled – i.e. a hierarchical relationship contrary to reality – two patterns apply: the reversal of the roles of human beings and animals, and a reversal of authority in society.' (KROPEJ 1990: 67). The original sense of the song could have been the reversal of the roles of feudal lords and serfs,[13] ridiculing individual classes and professions, mocking certain religious orders etc. History of course tells us that in the Middle Ages there were great social differences between feudal lords and serfs. There were also social differences between the various social strata and professions or classes.[14] The folk singer could only express the subjection of his position through the concealed structure of poetic form and the man shrouded in the image of an animal. Similarly, different professions ridiculed each other, especially in cases where one encroached on the other's sphere (BLAZNIK, GRAFENAUER, VILFAN 1970: 486–488). The reversal of the roles of animals and human beings is of course only possible if animals are subject to man in the real world. We know that this holds true if viewed from the position of man as the ruler of the world. What we need to do is find the material origin of our ballad, if possible, and find out roughly when it appeared and why it is known to Slovenes and not to other nations. I say this only provisionally, since unfortunately I cannot claim to know the entire European ballad tradition.

How can we discover what the basis was for the song and the beehive panel, or know what is original and what the importance of both the song and the ethnographic image can be?

If we accept the opinion of the Hungarian researcher Sándor Solymossy, who says that the origin of images of the hunter's funeral must undoubtedly be sought in the French national epic (or collection of stories about a cunning fox) *Le Roman de*

[12] Pieter Brueghel uses the expression *"Verkeerde Wereld"* on the sign of the ludicrous inn in his 1559 painting of proverbs, thus indicating that the topsy-turvy world is an allegory for the ludicrousness and foolishness of people. See Helmut KROPEJ, *Poslikane panjske končnice* (Klagenfurt, 1990), p. 67.

[13] See also Sergej VILFAN, *Pravna zgodovina Slovencev*, Slovenska matica, Ljubljana, 1961.

[14] cf. Josip GRUDEN, *Zgodovina slovenskega naroda*, Mohorjeva družba (1992 – reprint from 1910–1916).

Renard[15] and that the basis for these images is therefore a fable, we can conclude that the basis for the Slovene beehive panel is the Slovene folk song which without a doubt appeared before lithographs or handbills arrived in Slovenia from western Europe. These lithographs may have later had an influence on the dissemination and popularisation of the beehive panel featuring this motif, but we have to doubt that they were the basis for its creation, and in particular that the song only appeared after these beehive panels had already established themselves.[16] This statement is supported by the high incidence of motifs from folk songs on beehive panels – for example the well-known ballad *Pegam in Lambergar*, which was undoubtedly the material basis for a beehive panel (a view shared by researchers of Slovene folk art).

This ballad is seen through human eyes, and the rejoicing at the death of the executioner is present from the point of view of man's view of the world. Man is able to revenge himself, animals are not. Or this song (or image) is an allegory used by its creator in order to draw attention to the killing of animals, an unethical act. Furthermore in this 'allegory' the animals did not simply bury the man or cast his body away somewhere, as man usually does with animals; instead they arranged a funeral, a ceremony, for him. Although the animals in the song rejoice, their happiness is not an animal characteristic, it is a projection of man's view of the world. Animals are not malicious and do not kill for revenge, they do not know these emotions (or do they?). Only man could believe that animals could kill their executioner just as downtrodden man often rose up against his oppressor, and therefore this ballad is merely man's projection of his own desires and feelings. Perhaps the creation of this story was also a cathartic symbolic act, as an apology for an act committed. It would be interesting to establish the function of the story in people's lives. Or as John D. Niles writes in *Homo Narrans* (1999), only man is capable of creating stories and this is what separates him from other living beings. Perhaps? Whether this story was created by a person who wished to emphasise the equal role of animals and men, we can only guess.

If we assume that the substance of the story dates from before the sixteenth century, or even from the Middle Ages, we can perhaps establish that the attitude to animals is 'pre-Cartesian'. There are several cases in the 16th century of animals being afforded the same treatment as human beings, as shown by the 'animal trials'

[15] The entry for *Fuchs* (Fox) in the *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* V (*Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, Ed. Kurt RANKE, Göttingen (BAUSINGER, BREDNICH, BRÜCKNER, RÖHRICH, SCHENDA), Walter de Gruyter (Berlin–New York, 1985) states that *Le Roman de Renard* presents the social dimensions of these fables: *'Tierwelt und ihre Societät die Folie für Anspielungen auf historische und politische Entwicklungen, soziale und moralische Kritik und satirische Angriffe auf das klosterleben und die Heiligsprechung abgeben. Solche zeitgenössishe Bezüge sind allerdings in den volksprachlichen Fassungen unterschiedlich ausgefallen, und dies gilt gleichermassen für die bislang unzulänglich untersuchte Rolle des Fuchses, der etwa im mhd. Reinhart F. das Böse verkörpert, im frz. Roman de Renart dagegen wesentlich sympatishere Züge trägt.'* (p. 450). See also the bibliography relating to this topic on p. 474 and the German translation by Jacob GRIMM (*Reinhart Fuchs – Reineke Fuchs*, Georg Olms Verlag (Hildesheim–New York 1974)).

[16] Beehive panels first began to appear at the end of the 18th century but reached their greatest vogue in the second half of the 19th century.

which took place from the thirteenth century to the eighteenth century, where animals (worms, leeches, rats) which 'threatened' the well-being of human beings were given their own lawyer, in other words treated as equals: for example in 1587 the inhabitants of the village of Saint Julien went to the diocesan judge at Saint-Jean-de-Maurenne to bring a suit against a plague of maggots which had attacked their vineyards and caused enormous damage. The case was won by the maggots, who were defended by a lawyer, and the verdict pronounced by the diocesan judge was that animals created by God have the right, just as human beings do, to feed on plants. He ordered the inhabitants of Saint Julien to do penance and called on them to repent of their sins and to call on God's mercy (FERRY 1998: 9).

Is this true humanism because it is joined with zoophilia? Perhaps our ballad is the reflection of such an attitude to nature and the animal kingdom. Perhaps it is talking to us about this non-topsy-turvy world, or is a warning in the shape of the view of the world held by Leonardo da Vinci and St Francis of Assisi.[17] Perhaps this hidden structure of the ballad is for our time, telling us not only what the past was like but that we can learn something from this past, that the meaning communicated by the ballad can also be useful for the present day.[18] The ethical dimension of the ballad is the special attitude of its creator towards animals, evident in the anthropomorphising of the animals which appear in the song, in their behaviour towards human beings which is the same as the behaviour of human beings themselves, but with one further perspective: the animals may rejoice at the hunter's death but nevertheless they respectfully accompany him to his funeral.

CONCLUSION

Thus we find in the ballad at least three possible theses or theories concerning the thematic or historical background of the song:

1. The song is part of the conception of a topsy-turvy world, where the roles and mutual relationships of people and animals are reversed in an ironic sociological view of the world. This is a symbolic rendering of human relationships, in our case the relationship between the feudal lord and his serfs, and therefore a concealed criticism of social conditions.

2. The song is a critique of one class by another: peasants mocking hunters who belong to a different social stratum.

3. The song is a representation of "pre-Cartesian" times, when animals were not "mere machines" without feelings, to be treated by man as objects with no ethical

[17] Leonardo da Vinci predicted that in a hundred years' time killing an animal would be considered the same as killing a human being. For St Francis all of God's creatures were brothers and sisters.

[18] Perhaps we can observe in this song the hidden belief inherited from the immemorial past and preserved, that higher forces watch over man's treatment of animals and that maltreatment of animals is severely punished. This idea is especially topical today as we witness the mass slaughter of animals and see the heaped carcasses of sentient beings killed by man because of his own mistakes, greed and gluttony.

significance. It points to the ethical aspects of man's treatment of animals. Rather than describing a topsy-turvy world, it speaks of human beings' attitudes towards animals prior to the 17th century, when people were still aware that the killing of animals was an unethical act. Perhaps this ballad speaks of man's bad conscience and of his compassion for animals. The ironic approach, employing the reversal of the human and animal worlds, may have been the only possible way of addressing alternative values.

The likelihood that, taking the historical migration theory, the origin of the ballad can be found in medieval collections of stories in France (ignoring stories from Antiquity) and stories about cunning foxes which were used to ridicule man's mistakes (in the Middle Ages monastic orders were the main objects of ridicule), which came to Slovenia from Europe via painted images, is small. There is no data suggesting that the *Roman de Renard* stories were even known in Slovenia in that period. It is more likely that the Slovene ballad appeared independently. Perhaps the ballad was written as a result of one of the three theories listed above. It is interesting that we find the same motif both in song and in painting. It may be the case that the beehive panel was originally based on the song and that its popularisation was partly the result of the images which later spread to Slovenia from Central Europe.

In order for this paper to be complete and in order to present all of the aspects indicated, we would have to expand it and research possible connections with similar motifs, ballads or fables from elsewhere in Europe and the world (if of course they exist), the symbolic, metaphorical and mythological backgrounds of the individual animals appearing in the ballad, archetypal motifs and connections between animal and man (ethological aspects) and the roles of animals in the real and mythological worlds. But these questions are already the subject of the next paper.

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TEXTES EPIQUES DANS LA TRADITION TRANSYLVAINE (ROUMANIE)

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Abstract: *Epic Songs in Transylvanian Hungarian Tradition* – This article examines the practical function of a group of epic songs. On the basis of local folk ballads (ballade populaire), it shows that the epic songs preserve local history and recall members of the community and events of their lives. The songs in part function as a record of memory, as a means of prompting memory, and in part they serve to marginalise members of the local community. The author examined songs written for funerals which contain biographic data of the deceased person. The function of the songs is to bid farewell and preserve the memory of the deceased and popularise him or her, and to preserve the cult of the dead. In the 18th century the verses bidding farewell to the dead were part of the official church funeral and were written by the priest or cantor. From the 19th century the church rejected these farewells in verse. From then on the epic songs bidding farewell to the dead were written by lay persons. At the end of the 20th century the church banned the singing of such farewells at funerals.

Keywords: ballads in funeral, ritual texts in grave marks, time and place of ballad performance

Dans cette exposée, conformément aux recherches contemporaines et aux expériences personnelles sur le terrain transylvain nous essayons d'isoler des contextes qui soutiennent la tradition des poésies épiques. Nous essayons de décrire les contextes dans lesquels la narration en vers devient un mode de comportement rituel, dirigé par des règles collectives conventionnelles.

1. Dans un village transylvain de Călata[1] pendant le cantique de Noël en 1927, le chef d'un des groupes des chanteurs, nommé Káplár Marci n'a pas pu rendre compte d'une partie d'argent collecté. L' un des membres du group a fait appel a ses aînés, et aux amis de ceux-ci. Dans la volée, le jeune homme soupçonné de vol, a été tué par un canif, par l'un des frères du perdant. L'assasin a été condamné à deux années de détention. Les événements ont étés versifiés tout de suite et chantés dans les villages limitrophes, même dans les années 1980.[2]

Dans un village de la vallée d'Arieş[3] en 1883 un jeune homme a tué sa tante agée, pour obtenir sa fortune. Aprés le crime, lui aussi a été pendu. Dix années plus tard, on a enregisté les variantes de la ballade.[4] Elle est chantée même de nos jours.

[1] Nagykapus – Copşa Mare. Jud. Cluj.
[2] La présentation des événements et de la ballade: VASAS 1981.
[3] Aranyosszentmihály – Mihai Viteazu. Jud. Cluj.
[4] JANKÓ 1893:261; ALMÁSI 1977; DEMÉNY 1998:80, 84, 130.

Dans une localité de Trei Scaune[5] un jeune homme est allé avec le chariot pour transporter d'eau minérale. Pendant la route les chevaux se tourmentent et tuent leur maître. Les poésies sur l'accident mortal ont été enrégistrées dans le village, après cinquante années.[6]

Dans les recueils récents des ballades on rencontre un nombre impréssionnant de pareilles ballades, nommées *ballades locales*. Ernő ALBERT en a publiées dans son recueil 30, appartenant à 25 types. Le nombre des ballades locales enregistrées et omies est 13.[7] Ferenc POZSONY a ramassé 21 ballades locales.[8] Dans notre recueil en se trouvent 9.[9]

La tradition de versifier les événements locals et de mémoriser, de présenter les poésies est une forme de manifestation de l'unité du lieu.[10] Ces événements sont les aventures d'une société organique, locale. Tous les événements appartient au hasard de la vie quotidienne: la mort, la maladie, les conflits mortals, les accidents et les calamités tragiques.[11]

Ces ballades font partie de *l'histoire locale*. Quoique la littérature les classifie dans des catégories, des genres différents, les narrations locales, de point de vue de leur fonction et de leur fonctionnement, appartiennent à la mémoire collective locale. Les légendes des objectifs naturels, des bâtiments, les légendes mythiques, les histoires de la localité, des gens et des familles, les anecdotes sur les locatairs, les proverbes et les aphorismes liés aux personnes de la localité, ainsi que les inscriptions des monuments, des églises, des autres bâtiments, les chroniques manuscrits s'organisent dans un ensemble. Chacune des réunions collectives, plutôt celles des différentes générations, activise une partie de ces narrations, à une tonalité soit distractive, soit moralisatrice, soit ironique. Dans sa totalité, cette histoire représente les expériences mémorisés d'une collectivité.

Les ballades, tout semblable aux autres textes, contiennent la structure et les relations socielles du communauté, ainsi que la topologie locale. Les personnages et les relations des familles qui aparaissent dans les ballades peuvent être identifiées. Les ballades font partie du *mémoire généalogique*. Dans la plupart des cas, les ballades servent comme *aides-mémoires*. Les événements construits des stéréotypies epiques et des stéréotypies linguistiques, des formules, sont complétés dans l'oralité avec les détails, les conséquences des événements, avec le trame postérieur. La réalité de la ballade est légalisée, argumentée par l'histoire des familles respectives et de la société locale. Ainsi, dans les relations sociales les ballades ont une fonction pratique. Elles assurent la marginalisation, la stigmatisation des familles et des personnes, elles rendent permanent des relations hostiles entre des familles. Les

[5] Felsőrákos – Racoşul de Sus. Jud. Covasna.
[6] ALBERT 1973:467; LÁSZLÓ 1972, nr. 1.
[7] ALBERT 1973.
[8] POZSONY 1984.
[9] KESZEG 2001.
[10] BAUSINGER 1995:53–88.
[11] Dans une étude, FARAGÓ a passé en revue les événements qui ont devenu le sujet des ballades locales. Ceux-ci sont les suivants: les assasinats, les suicides, les accidents, les cas mortals, les déceptions. (FARAGÓ 1977:377–378).

faits des prédécesseurs influencent la vie et le statut des succésseurs. A Mihai Viteazu, même après plus de cent années, la famille Bajka a honte à cause du meurtre passé dans le cadre de la famille. Les membres du lignage reçoivent avec hostilité si on se souvient (en ballade) de l'assasinat. C'est le même cas dans le village Nagykapus. Les successeurs de la victime (les Miklós Káplár) se souviennent avec indignation du crime de 1927, tandis que la famille Török Gyurkó se sent offensée en entendant en parler.[12] Une ballade enregistrée dans la région Trei Scaune affirme que les gens de Ciuc (région limitrophe) sont tous des massacreurs crus.[13]

Ce dernier cas nous sert bien à démontrer le caractère aide-mémoire de la ballade. La ballade présente sommairement le conflit d'entre Káplár Marci et Török Gyurkó Pista, la mort du Káplár Marci et la condamnation de Török Gyurkó Pista. Cet événement est élargi dans l'oralité. Les antécédants du conflit se trouvent dans les coutumes traditionnelles de Noël du village. Le soir avant Noël les jeunes hommes visitent les familles du village, ils chantent des cantiques de Noël et ils amassent des donations en brioche. Les jours suivants les brioches sont mis en valeur parmi les pauvres du village, et les argents sont partagés également parmi les chanteurs de Noël. En 1927, Török Gyurkó Ferenc, l'un des membres du group, un jeune homme riche, n'a pas reçu tous ses droits d'argent. Pour faire justice, il a fait appel à son frère aîné, qui s'est trouvé dans une réunion de réveillon entre ses amis mariés. Entre les mariés associés au jeune homme perdant et les jeunes hommes associés au chef des chanteurs, s'est détaché une véritable lutte. Dans le combat, l'aîné de Török Gyurkó Ferenc, Török Gyurkó Pista a tué Miklós Káplár Márton. Le défunt a été transporté par un traîneau, couvert d'un drap, à l'aube de 1 Janvier. L'assasin a été condamné à deux ans de détention. Pendant cette période, dans le prison, il a enseigné la profession de menuisier. En rentrant à la maison, il est devenu misanthrope. Pendant un hiver, il est sorti dans la forêt, pour chercher de bois pour ses travails. En passant par le pâturage de la famille de la victime, le bois est renversé sur lui. Il est décédé, et il y a été enterré par la neige.[14]

La ballade de Bajka Sándor, elle aussi revitalise toujours un sphère plus large des événements. Les villageois savent encore que la mère de Bajka Sándor est morte aux couches. Les enfants, Bajka Sándor et sa sœur ont été élevés par une bellemère. Celle-ci ne les a tolerés pas. À cause d'elle Sándor a été obligé d'interrompre ses études. Plus tard, ses parents n'ont pas lui permis de se marier. La tante tuée a eu 76 ans. Premièrement Sándor l'a frappée avec une hache, puis il lui a coupé la gorge. Le serviteur qui s'est trouvé dans la même pièce, a été tué de la même façon. Le père de l'assasin, capitaine, n'a pas voulu intervenir pour échapper son fils de la mort. Le jeune homme emprisonné a été visité seulement par sa soeur, qui l'aimait beacoup. Même l'écharpe avec laquelle les yeux de l'assasin ont été couverts, a été apportée par elle.

[12] VASAS 1981:38.
[13] ALBERT 1973:nr. 350.
[14] VASAS 1981:38.

Les burreaux ont été convoqués de Budapest. Aprés l'execution la tête de Bajka Sándor a été transporté à Cluj, son corps a été enterré dans la cimetière des infracteurs. Après ces événements les parents de Bajka Sándor ont construit une grande maison familiale. Les villageois ont condamné leurs indifférence face à la mort de leur enfant.

Ce contexte qui entoure la ballade, et qui est revitalisé chaque fois où la ballade est presentée, activise toujours des intentions actuelles, spécifiques. L'interprétation de la ballade rend possible, véhicule et revitalise les convictions morales et les préjudices familials de la communauté locale. Tour à tour, on y a attribué des contenus morals comme la brutalité de l'assasinat, les intentions injustes avec l'héritage de la vieille, le refus envers l'intention de mariage du jeune homme par ses parents, la cruauté des juges, l'intention de vengeance de la mère du serviteur roumain. Ces contenus ne sont pas integrés jamais dans les variantes de la ballade, ils restent toujours dans son contexte d'interprétation.[15]

Au surplus, les ballades locales contiennent toujours la *topographie géographique*, naturelle de la localité. Ce code est la deuxième possibilité de localiser la ballade dans l'espace de la communauté. Toutefois, la topographie locale assure une permanence de la mémoire.[16] La topographie des ballades est la même que celle des légendes mythiques. Les lieux rélévents sont les marges, les zones périphériques, transitoires: la forêt[17], la cimetière[18], la montagne[19], la tranchée[20], la frontière du village[21]. Les objectifs des localités sont les bâtiments (la remise[22], l'écurie[23], l'auberge[24]), la périphérie du foyer (le jardin[25]), la tranchée[26]. Mais, contrairement aux légendes, ces objectifs géografiques et architecturals perdent la signification mythique, ils deviennent les lieux de l'infraction, les lieux où on se souvient d'assasins et de victimes de la communauté.

L'apparition et la popularité des ballades est la conséquence de la migration, de l'accroissement de la valeur de l'argent, de la décomposition des valeurs morales collectives, de la solidarité d'une société locale, de l'accroissement de l'incertitude sociale. Dans la localité font leur apparitions des personnes étrangères,[27] où ceux

[15] Nous y pouvons ajouter des autres ballades qui ont le sujet élargi dans l'oralité: ALBERT 1973:nr. 311–315, nr. 317–318, nr. 319–320, nr. 325–337, nr. 338–367, nr. 386–397, nr. 406–409, nr. 412–413, nr. 415–423; RÁDULY 1975:nr. 134–138, POZSONY 1984, nr. 129, nr. 133.

[16] L'espace, les lieux de la ré-mémoration font parti du mnémotechnique: ASSMANN 1999:40–42.

[17] ALBERT 1973:nr. 297, 308, 325, 328.

[18] ALBERT 1973:302.

[19] ALBERT 1973, 306.

[20] ALBERT 1973:308, 313.

[21] ALBERT 1973:412; KESZEG 2001: 37.

[22] ALBERT 1973:317.

[23] ALBERT 1973:321, 324.

[24] ALBERT 1973:349, 355; RÁDULY 1975:129, 130, 133; KESZEG 2001:29, 31.

[25] ALBERT 1973:319.

[26] ALBERT 1973:351.

[27] La ballade de Butyka Imre est connue dans toutes les régions. Elle présente la mort d'un jeun geandarme, tué par des assasins inconnus, pendant le service. ALBERT 1973:304–306; RÁDULY 1975:134–138; POZSONY 1984:130.

sont les personnes originaires du même village, les parents, les voisins, les membres de la famille qui commettent des faits agressifs inattendus. L'incertitude de la morale est signalée souvent dans les ballades: souvent l'assasin emprisonné avoue, que lui non plus, il ne comprenne pas son attitude,[28] il regrette l'agression commise.[29] Les personnages qui essayent de remédier, de contrebalancer cette incertitude, sont les représentants des instituts de l'état et les autorités locales: le juge[30], l'avocat[31], le gendarme[32], l'agent de police[33], le geôlier[34]. Ces sont eux, qui au lieu de l'opinion publique assurent la justice. À l'aide du code locale, les ballades locales répètent, elles transmettent vers une société locale le même message épique: la révolte provoquée par les infractions, la peur des événements imprévues, la confiance dans les autorités. Ce message a son structure épique et ses formules linguistiques. Les motifs à l'aide desquels est construit la structure épique, sont les suivants: le balayage de la cour, de la rue pour une fête ou pour le dimanche (la représentation de l'harmonie antérieure)[35]; le caractère imprévu et rapide de la mort[36]; l'ouverture de la porte par les parents pour introduire le mort[37]; le transport du victime ou du malade par chariot au docteur, devant les parents[38]; le transport du mort dans la cimetière[39]; la voix de la cloche qui annonce l'enterrement du victime[40];

[28] ALBERT 1973:nr. 368, 375; RÁDULY 1975:134; KESZEG 2001:29.
[29] ALBERT 1973:nr. 342, 366.
[30] ALBERT 1973:335.
[31] ALBERT 1973:314.
[32] ALBERT 1973:321, 322, 332, 358; KESZEG 2001.
[33] ALBERT 1973:313, 314.
[34] ALBERT 1973:318.
[35] Jön a péntek, jön a szombat, vasárnap,
Sepergetnek a pávai leányok.
Seperd, Mari, udvarodat tisztára,
Jön a Dénes, recsegős a csizmája. POZSONY 1984:127; ALBERT 1973:347, 357, 359, 415, 417; POZSONY 1984:127, 133.
[36] Nyolc órakor Korond-hegyen kávézott,
Kilenc órakor a faluba cikázott...
Tíz órakor piros vére megalszik. ALBERT 1973:306.

Még vasárnap délután
Vígan sétált az utcán.
Már csütörtök estére
Vitték a temetőbe. KESZEG 2001:32; ALBERT 1973:306; RÁDULY 1975:134; POZSONY 1984:134; KESZEG 2001:32.
[37] Butyka János nyisd ki a te kapudat. ALBERT 1973:304.
Nyisd ki, anyám, az kapudot. POZSONY 1984:125; ALBERT 1973:304, 353, 361; RÁDULY 1975; POZSONY 1984:125.
[38] Pál Sándorkát feltették a szekérre,
Egyenesen főorvos úr elibe...
Pál Sándorkát feltették a szekérre,
Egyenesen édesanyja elibe. POZSONY 1984:138; RÁDULY 1975:146; POZSONY 1984:137, 138.
[39] Bartis Annát viszik a temetőbe. ALBERT 1973:315; ALBERT 1973:296, 315.
[40] Be szépen szól a pávai nagyharang. ALBERT 1973:348.
Itt Bágyonban harangozzák. KESZEG 2001:29; ALBERT 1973:340, 348, 376, 415; POZSONY1984: 127; KESZEG 2001:28.

l'enterrement rituel, sous forme de mariage des jeunes[41]; la fréquentation du tombeau du mort[42].

Les ballades locales sont utilisées dans les événements de mémoire et de commémoire, dans un cadre familial ou rituel, qui convoque des personnes appartenant aux plusieurs familles et générations. En utilisant le code familial, généalogique, la toponymie et la topographie locale, ces ballades ont une actualité seulement dans la localité respective, ou dans ces voisinages. En quittant le contexte de la culture locale, elles perdent leur actualité, leurs significations sociales, elles deviennent des sujets fictifs.[43]

2. Il faut s'arrêter sur les textes épiques à un caractère *biographique*. Leur formes rituelles sont redigées pendant les deux-trois jours de l'enterrement. L'attention vers la personne moribonde, puis mort, se manifeste dans les préoccupations envers les événements de sa vie, les circonstances de sa mort. Les membres de la famille ont une préoccupation intensive de ramasser les données biographiques, de les mettre à la disposition des spécialistes et des connaissances, personnes qui s'y intéressent. Ces biographies sont répétées plusieurs fois pendant les jours de l'enterrement, quelques unes sont écrites ou multipliées.

La *lamentation* est un texte improvisé par l'un de parents (toujours femme) rapproché au mort. Les moments où on peut respectivement on doit lamenter le défunt, sont la veillée, les moments culminants de la séparation du mort (le jour de l'enterrement, la fermeture du cercueil, l'extraction du cercueil de la maison, le commencement de l'enterrement), les occasions du culte du mort (les visites dans la cimetière, les dates de la commémoration). La specificité de la lamentation se trouve dans sa forme. Elle est orientée vers le mort, elle s'adresse au mort, mais elle sert à informer l'auditoire. Les motifs biographiques sont les faits, les sacrifices du mort envers les membres de la famille, ainsi que les événements de sa maladie, ses souffrances, les circonstances de la mort.[44] Dans les dernières années l'appréciation de la lamentation est devenue ambigue. Tantôt sont blâmés ceux qui lamentent le mort, tantôt ceux qui ne le font pas.[45]

La *poésie d'adieu* a une histoire et un présent controversé. Dans le XVIIIème

[41] L'enterrement rituel des jeunes nécessite le choix d'un/une mari/marie, l'habillement de six/sept/douze paires pour mariage.

Gyertek lányok, öltözzetek fehérbe. ALBERT 1973:350.
Engem hat lány vigyen ki,
A babám kísérjen ki.
Mind a hat lány fehérbe,
A babám feketébe. KESZEG 2001:32. ALBERT 1973:350, 361, 368, 372, 376, 410, POZSONY 1984:138, KESZEG 2001:32.

[42] Kimegyek a gyásztemetõ aljára,
Ráborulok a szeretõm sírjára. ALBERT 1973:353.

[43] Árpád ANTAL a présenté les liaisons entre une situation historique et le sujet, la popularité d'une ballade régionelle. ANTAL 1962.

[44] »On raconte, mon cher mari, ce que tu as fait pour moi. Quel ont été ses faits. Il m'a édé jusqu'à ses derniers moments.« (Enquête récent, région Aries. KESZEG 2001).

[45] C'est l'opinion des descendants devenus citadins, respectivement des villageois. L'église elle-même condamne la lamentation.

siècle cette poésie a fait partie de la cérémonie ecclésiastique. Elle a été rédigée par la personne officielle réligieuse (prêtre, chantre) ou un homme de lettres autoritaire. Elle a eu un caractère méditatif, une conception réligieuse, une intention de consolation. La mort y est présentée comme libération des souffrances terrestres, comme le mariage avec le marié céleste, une fête joyeuse. La poésie d'adieu fait partie du même contexte rituel que le prêche, l'oratoire, la généalogie et la biographie («vita») du mort, et les poésies occasionnelles.

Dès le XIX-ième siècle ces poésies sont exclues de la cérémonie ecclésiastique, mais comme la partie de l'enterrement, elles suivent immédiatement et terminent la cérémonie. Dans cette période les auteurs sont des spécialistes laïques, des maîtres d'école, des chantres paysans. Au lieu de la conception officielle sur la mort, ces auteurs correspondent aux besoins de la famille. Ils ont l'intention d'immortaliser les mémoires du défunt, d'exprimer la douleur, la faiblesse de l'homme devant la mort, la direction de la cérémonie. De cette cause, l'image de la situation actuelle devient plus détaillée et affective. La biographie du défunt devient plus longue et elle néglige les intentions moralisatrices et démonstratives à partir de la vie du mort, elle parle de l'absurdité de la mort, des souffrances imméritées du défunt, de la douleur des membres de la famille.

Les données biographiques sont choisies par l'un des membres adults de la famille. C'est lui qui prend le contact avec le prêtre, le chantre ou le poète populaire. Le prêtre utilise ces dates dans son prêche, le spécialiste en rédige la poésie. Depuis le commencement du XX-ième siècle, ces poésies ont été multipliées et distribuées pendant la cérémonie de l'enterrement parmi les parents. Les parents approchés au défunt l'ont encadré et exposé sur le mur, parmi les photos familials. Comme ça, elle est devenue l'objet, le lieu de culte du mort. Ce tendence a été plus fréquant pendant les guerres, où l'un des membres de la famille est mort et enterré à l'étranger. Dans notre recueil de poésies d'adieu se trouve la poésie du soldat Csép András, né à Bădeni, mort à 31 décembre 1916, même que celle de Dénes István (Moldoveneşti), mort en 1917. Vagyas Károly, né à Moldoveneşti, est devenu ingénieur et ils s'est établi en URSS. Ses parents n'ont pas pu participer à son enterrement en 1977. Sa poésie d'adieu remplace son tombeau parmi les familles de son village natale.

Pendant les derniers décennies l'église s'est délimité de la poésie d'adieu. Il est interdit de la présenter pendant la cérémonie, dans la présence du prêtre. C'est pour cela que la poésie est rédigée par quelqu'un de la famille, elle est multipliée et distribuée clandestinement dans peu d'exemplaires. L'éloignement du texte de la mélodie et la présentation acustique, la poésie a souffert des transformations structurelles et formelles.

Comme l'objet de culte, la poésie d'adieu se trouve dans le centre de l'attention. Une femme, née en 1927 a Calarasi,[46] raconte, comment elle a été obligée de rédiger toute seule la poésie de sa mère. Quand sa mère est morte, elle a rencontré le poète du village, un vieux paysan. «*Je vous prie d'écrire la biographie et l'adieu de ma mère.*

[46] Jud. Cluj.

Oh, ma fille, je n'en pas du temps. Alors, ne vous faites pas de problèmes, je l'ai rédigé moi. Je suis entré dans la maison, j'ai pleuré et je l'ai écrit. Comment a été sa vie, comment nous nous sommes élevés comme orphelins. Personne du village n'a pas eu une biographie si troublante que ma mère.»

Le *nécrologue* imprimé dans la région d'Arieş est connu depuis 1835. Premièrement il a été connu et utilisé dans le milieu aristocratique, intellectuel et bourgeois. Depuis le commencement de 20-ième siécle il a été répandu même parmi les ouvriers et les paysans. Le texte d'un nécrologue englobe plusieurs fonctions. Il contient des informations utiles sur les circonstances de la cérémonie (la date, le lieu, le type de la cérémonie). Pourtant, le nécrologue n'a pas le rôle d'organiser et de diriger la cérémonie. Il est distribué pendant la cérémonie d'enterrement (plus précisément au commencement ou à la fin de la cérémonie), parmi les participants. Les parents absents reçoivent le nécrologue quelques jours après l'événement. Donc, le nécrologue veut être un aide-mémoire, qui rappelle la personne morte, ses funérailles. C'est pour cela que le nécrologue contienne beaucoup de données *biographiques* sur le défunt (la date de sa naissance, les maladies, la cause et les circonstances de la mort, l'état familial, les descendants, l'occupation, les rôles socials, les rangs dans la hiérarchie, la participation dans les événements historiques, le lieu des domaines), le cadre de sa vie, les tournures de la vie, les résultats personnels. Le texte contienne beaucoup de données généalogiques (la structure de la famille, l'énumération des descendants, des parents, les relations de parenté, le statut social du mort et de la famille, les rangs des membres de la famille). Ces données sont structurées dans une narration héroïque. Souvent, le nécrologue encadré a été longtemps exposé sur le mur, comme une preuve généalogique et comme objet de culte d'un prédecesseur. La disparition de ce type de nécrologue s'est passé après la deuxième guerre mondiale, quand les valeurs traditionnelles ont disparues de la société. Dorénavant, la vie du mort est integrée dans un cadre plus restreint, celui de la famille. Simultanément, la narration a perdu son pathétisme, le volume du texte est diminué, la biographie est construite par la plupart des stéréotypies.[47]

Le dernier type de texte que nous voulons passer en revue est *l'épithaphe*. Lui aussi, il contient une biographie sommaire. Elle contiennne la date de la naissance et de la mort, puis l'état familial, la nomination des parents (le nombre et éventuellement le nom des enfants ou des parents), l'occupation, la cause et les circonstances de la famille.

La popularité du thème biographique dans la cérémonie funérale prouve que la rédaction et la présentation de la vie du défunt est un comportement rituel. La biographie y a été présente depuis longtemps. Ce qui diffère, c'est la forme et le style, donc les traits extérieurs du texte. Après nos recherches, le long des siècles la fonction biographique a été offert (successivement ou parallèlement) dans plusieurs types de textes.

Ces types de textes ont un contexte rituel plus large. La distribution des fonctions parmi ces textes est la suivante:

[47] Plus détaillément sur les nécrologues: KESZEG 1999.

Fonctions	Types de textes 1	2	3	4	5	6
La direction de la cérémonie	+	+	–	+	+	–
Adieu	+	+	–	+	+	–
Biographie[48]	+	+	–	–	+	+
Généalogie[49]	+	+	–	–	+	+
Meditation	+	–	–	+	+	+
Testament	–	–	–	–	+	–
L'assurance du repos du mort	+	–	+	–	+	+
Souvenir[50]	+	+	+	–	+	+

1 – nécrologue
2 – l'information sur le décès (dans les journaux)
3 – commémoration (dans les journaux)
4 – chants de veillée
5 – poésie d'adieu
6 – épitaphe

La rédaction, ainsi que la présentation et l'exposition de ces textes a été dirigée par des règles établies. Dans leur rédaction ont pris part les membres de la famille et les différents spécialistes de la communauté (prêtre, chanteur, poète populaire). Les textes ont été présentés dans les moments significatifs de la cérémonie (la veillée, l'enterrement), dans les lieux importants (près du cercueil, dans le temple, dans la cimetière). Leur présentation a utilisé des techniques spécielles (le chant, la récitation, la lamentation). Les textes multipliés ont été éxposés dans la maison des descendants avec les autres objets de culte (photos) du défunt.

Il faut y mentionner que la cérémonie de l'enterrement (la veillée) représente un contexte favorable pour la présentation des ballades classiques. Plusieurs marquages prouvent que les ballades sont devenues des textes rituels funéraires.[51] De plus, ce contexte est favorable à la naissance des ballades locales, chantées ulté-

[48] Ipolyi écrit sur la poésie d'adieu: „on en dit les différents événements" de la vie du mort (IPOLYI 1854:551). À Gombos dans la veillée „on dit tout: la vie du mort, dès sa naissance jusq'à sa mort, le mariage, son destin, sa malchance" (JUNG 1978:142). Un épitaphe daté du 17. siècle présente la durée de la vie, la cause de la mort et l'origien du défunt: „Hatvan hat eztendom betegsulve vevem / Házastársa valek Balasi késcsináló Iacabnak". Régi Magyar Költők Tára. (Recueil des Poètes Hongrois Anciens) XVII. siècle, Vol. 9. Budapest 1977:256. Après un auteur d'épitaphe de Satu Mare „on rédige la vie du mort" (ERDÉSZ 1968:203). KUNT écrit que la généalogie du mort est rédigé dans la veillée: „Cela contien le nom, les les fonctions sociales, l'âge. Avec l'apport des tous qui sont présents, on rédige les événements importants du mort." (KUNT 1987:144). György Szepsi Korocs présente dans son texte de 17. siècle, intitulé Koporson valo versek, la biographie du comte Magochi Ferenc. Régi Magyar Költők Tára. (Recueil des Poètes Hongrois Anciens) XVII. siècle, Vol. 8. Budapest, 1976:151.

[49] Le laudatio des discours funéraires ont eu la même fonction. (KECSKEMÉTI–NOVÁKY 1988:21).

[50] La cérémonie du 17. siècle a contenu plusieurs objets de souvenir: l'épitaphe, le blason, les armes, le drapeau.Les objets exposés ont gardé le souvenir du mort et ont mobilisé à la suite de ses éxemples. (KECSKEMÉTI–NOVÁKY 1988:17).

[51] RÁDULY 1978; POZSONY 1985. C'est plutôt la population tzigane qui chante des ballades populaires classiques à la veillée. Autrement on ne les chante pas, de peur qu'on provoque la mort de quelqu'un (POZSONY 1984:57).

rieurement dans le même contexte, que celles-ci.[52] Une ballade locale a assimilé entièrement l'épitaphe du mort.[53] Des autres ballades contiennent seulement un motif de l'épitaphe.[54] Plusieurs chansons de veillée ont devenu la ballade d'un événement tragique.[55] Il y a aussi beaucoup de ballades qui contiennent des blocs de texte des poésies d'adieu. Les motifs qui se sont installés sans aucune difficulté dans les ballades sont le pardon accordé aux vivants, le pardon demandé des parents[56] et le testament du défunt.[57] Si nous passons de nouveau en revue les fonctions des textes funéraires, nous pouvons constater, qu'une groupe des ballades a les mêmes fonctions, sauf l'intention de diriger la cérémonie. Tandis que les textes funéraires rédigent et gardent le souvenir du mort dans le cadre des rites (enterrement, commémoration), les ballades le font dans les situations quotidiennes, ayant dans leur contexte des narrations locales.

ANNEXE

Épitaphe[58]

E SIRKŐ
ALATT
ALUSSZA
ÖRÖK ÁLMÁT
SZÜLETETT 1867
OCTOBER 31 ÉN ÉS 1887
JULIUS 23 ÁN VÉLETLENÜL
ELHALT FELEJTHETETT
LEN KEDVES JÓ FIUNK
KONYA ZSIGMOND
A KOLOSVÁRI KERESKE-
DELMI AKADÉMIA II
ÉVES HALGATOJA JÖVŐJÉ
HEZ FŰZÖTT SZÉP RE
MÉNYEKET LETAROLTA
A KÉRLELHETETLEN
MOSTOHA SORS
ÁLMA LEGYEN NYUGODT
ÉS CSENDES A SOK
EMLÉKE LENGJEN
SÍRJA FELETT
(Székelykocsárd)

SUR CETTE PIERRE
DORT
SON RÊVE ÉTERNELLE
NÉ EN 1867 ET EN 1887
LE 31 OCTOBRE ACCIDENTALLEMENT
EST MORT
NOTRE INOUBLIABLE CHERE FILS
KONYA ZSIGMOND
ÉTUDIANT EN II-IEME ANNÉ
DE L'ACADÉMIE DE COMMERCE
LES JOLIES ESPÉRENCES
LIÉES DE SON AVENIR
ONT ÉTÉ SECHÉES PAR LA MORT
IMPLACABLE ET HOSTILE
SON RÊVE SOIT TRANQUILLE
ET SILANCIEUX
SES BEAUCOUP SOUVENIRS
VOLTIGENT SUR SON TOMBEAU
(Războieni, jud. Alba)

[52] Sur les ballades de lamentation: KRÍZA 1991:155.
[53] ALBERT 1973:nr. 412–413.
[54] ALBERT 1973:370; POZSONY 1984:139.
[55] RÁDULY 1975:nr. 140–142; POZSONY 1984:126.
[56] ALBERT 1973:311, 314, 368–380, 384, 394, 399, 406, 407.
[57] ALBERT 1973:316, 368, 375; RÁDULY 1975:134; KESZEG 2001:29.
[58] Cueilli par Vilmos KESZEG.

Ballades locales

Jaj de széles, jaj de keskeny ez az út[59]
(Keresztanyja gyilkosa)

Jaj de széles, jaj de keskeny ez az út,
Amelyiken Bajka Sándor elindult.
Lépett egyet lépett kettőt, meg-megállt,
Keresztanyja udvarára besétált.

Adjon Isten, keresztanyám, jó estét!
Adjon Isten, keresztfiam, szerencsét!
Ne kívánjon, keresztanyám, szerencsét,
Még az éjjel kendbe vágom a fejszét.
Jobbágy Miklós 1894
Várfalva

Quelle longue et quelle large est cette route
(L'assasin de sa marraine)

Quelle longue et quelle large est cette route,
Sur laquelle Bajka Sándor est parti.
Il fait un pas, el en fait deux, il s'est arrêté,
Il est entré dans la cour da sa marraine.

Que Dieu vous donne un bon soir, ma marraine!
Que Dieu toi donne de bonne chance, mon filleul!
Ne me souhaitez pas de bonne chance, ma marraine,
Cette nuit-ci je vous tuerai avec la hache.
Chanté par Jobbágy Miklós, né en 1894
Moldovenesti (Jud. Cluj)

Pető János[60]

Ezernyolcszáznegyvenegybe
Nem jutott nekem eszembe,
Hogy már engemet a halál
Zsombor falu között talál.

Utamat rég elvégeztem,
Mikor szerencsétlen lettem.
Testem törött kerekemre,
Vérem kiomlott a földre.

Nyisd ki, apám, kapudat,
Halva hozzák a fiadat.
Nem zörgeti már kapudat,
Nem csapdossa meg lovadat.
Sándor Jánosné 1893
Felsőrákos

Pető János

En mille huit cent quarante et un
Je ne me souvenais pas
Que la mort me trouvera
Prés du village Zsombor.

J'ai fini mes taches depuis longtemps
Quand j'ai devenu victime.
Les roues ont ecrasé mon corps,
Mon sang s'est ecoulé sur la terre.

Ouvre, mon père, ta porte,
On apporte ton fils mort,
Il ne frappera plus à ta porte,
Il ne battera plus ton cheval.
Chanté par Sándor Jánosné, née en 1893
Racosu de Sus (Jud. Covasna)

Poésie d'adieu du mort

Dávid Tamás Bucsuztatoja
MH 1942.XI hó 2 án[61]

Dávid Tamás gondolt egyet.
Enis menekült kel legyek,
Isten Velled feleségem.
Haza jövök még az öszen.

Nem menyek en Koncsentrára
Inkább menyek Kolozsvára
Meg védni az egéségem
Meg védni az éllettemet

Amint Kenyerem Kerestem
A Bihari uttesteken
Meg rugta egy lo a melyem
Amitöl én betteg letem

L'adieu de Dávid Tamás
M. 1942.XI.2.

Dávid Tamás a pensé tout cela:
Moi aussi je dois être refugié,
Au revoir, ma femme,
Je reviendrai cet automne même.

Je ne vais pas à la concentration,
Je vais plutôt à Cluj,
Pour défendre ma santé,
Pour défendre ma vie.

Pendant que je gagnais ma pain,
Sur les chemins de Bihor,
Un cheval a frappé ma poitrine,
Et de la sorte je devenais malade.

[59] Cueilli par Vilmos KESZEG.
[60] Cueillie par ALBERT, 1973:467.
[61] Texte cueilli par Vilmos KESZEG.

Én az orvoshoz nem mentem
Azt gondoltam joban leszek
De a fájdalmim nem szünt meg
Én a munkától el jötem

El mentem én más munkára
Meszire az én hazámtol
De én onan is el jöttem
Mert én nagyon betteg lettem

Dénes Samu ne Hagyatok
Mert én itt mingyár meg halok
Vigyetek el engem Pestre.
A korházba tegyetek be

Jo orvos úr ara kérem
Gyógyicson meg engem szépen
Mert Vár othon feleségem
S otthon marat ket testvérem

Nefej fijam joban leszel
Haza mehetcz még az öszel
De el dagat a job Karam
Amibe én bele haltam

Isten veled feleségem.
Kivel én Sokáig éltem.
Köszönöm a joságodat.
Isten Viseje gondodat

Testvéreim hattan Vattak
Töletek is el bucsuzak
Ne sirasattok engemet
Mert nekem el keletet menem

Laci Dénes Pali Péter
Kérlek ne felejcsetek el
Mongyátok meg oda haza
Hogy én it már Boldog Vagyak

Édes Hugom és Hütársa
Márton Bátyam és családja
Vigyázatok magatokra
Vigyázatak Ángyatokra

Szüleimtöl nem bucsuzok
Vellek én már találkozok
Elmondom hogy el jöttetek
Hogy mind bujdosok lettetek

Nagy bátyáim és nagy néném
És a töbi rokonaim
Mindenkitö el bucsuzak
Isten Veletek Szomszédak

Isten Velletek vajtársak
Akik velem dolgozttattak
Vigyázattok magatokra
Ne jusatak a Sorsomra

Je n'allais pas au médecin,
J'ai cru que je me rétablisse,
Mais la douleur n'en a pas cessé,
J'ai quitté mon service.

J'ai commencé autre service,
Loin de mon pays,
Mais je l'ai quitté de nouveau,
Parce que j'ai devenu très malade.

Dénes, Samu, ne me quittez pas,
Parce que je vais mourir.
Emmenez-moi à Budapest,
Laissez-moi à l'hôpital.

Je vous demande mon bon médecin,
De me guérir complètement,
Car à la maison m'attendent ma femme
Et mes deux frères y restés.

Ne t'inquiète pas, mon fils, tu te guériras,
Tu pourras rentrer cet automne-ci.
Mais mon bras droit s'est gonflé,
Donc je suis mort.

Au revoir, ma femme,
Avec qui j'ai beaucoup vécu,
Je te remercie pour ta bonté,
Que Dieu soit avec toi.

Mes six frères,
Je prends congé de vous aussi,
Vous ne me lamentez pas,
Parce que je dois partir.

Laci, Dénes, Pali, Péter,
S'il vous plaît, ne m'oubliez pas,
Dites à ma famille,
Que j'y suis heureux.

Ma chère soeur et son fidel mari,
Mon oncle Márton et sa famille,
Que vous vous soigniez,
Ayez soigne de votre tante.

Je ne prends pas congé de mes parents,
Parce que je les y rencontre,
Je leur dirai que vous en êtes partis,
Que vous soyez devenus tous exilés.

Mes oncles, mes tantes,
Et mes autres parents,
Je prends congé de vous tous,
Que Dieu vous bénisse, mes voisins.

Au revoir mes confrères,
Qui ont travaillé avec moi,
Que vous vous soignez afin de
Ne devenir pas ce que je suis.

Mehesetek inen haza
A ti kicsi falutokba
Isten maragyon Velettek
Ti Sok menekült testvérek

Irta Csiki Jozsef
1942 November 15én

Que vous puissiez aller chez vous,
Dans votre petit village,
Dieu reste avec vous,
Mes nombreux frères exilés.

Écrit par Csiki József
1942 novembre 15

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ZWISCHEN EMANZIPATION UND ROMANTIK. BALLADEN IM REPERTOIRE VON FRAUEN AUS DER DEUTSCHEN FOLK-SZENE

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Abstract: *Between Emancipation and Romanticism. Ballads in the Repertory of Women Active in the German Folk-Revival.* – My paper deals with some aspects of the Folk-Revival in Germany in the nineteenseventies. Jürgen Dittmar and David Engle said something concerning ballad singing in the German folk-scene of that time during the meeting in Edinburgh. I wanted to take a closer look at the role of women in some of the groups active in the folk-revival (Elster Silberflug, Fiedel Michel, Folkländer, Holzrädchen, Tonschusser, Wacholder,). I tried to show who made the decision concerning the repertories and which topics were preferred by women.
Keywords: gender, folklorism, folk-scene

Zunächst möchte ich ausdrücklich feststellen, dass die Sängerinnen, von denen im folgenden die Rede sein wird, kaum eines der Lieder, die sie in das Repertoire ihrer Folkgruppe einbrachten, aus der mündlichen Überlieferung ihrer Familie oder Nachbarschaft kennengelernt hatten. Die Lieder, die der Elterngeneration gefielen und die in den 50er und 60er Jahren bei Familienausflügen oder Familienfesten gesungen wurden, hatten sie zum Teil in der Schule kennengelernt. Die wollten sie aber lieber nicht singen. Franz Josef Degenhardt hatte die Gründe dafür in „Die alten Lieder" (DEGENHARDT 1969: 84) prägnant zusammengefasst: „Tot sind unsre Lieder, unsre alten Lieder, Lehrer haben sie zerbissen, Kurzbehoste sie verklampft, braune Horden totgeschrien, Stiefel in den Dreck gestampft."

Das Frühlingslied von Hoffmann von Fallersleben: „Alle Vögel sind schon da" (HOFFMANN VON FALLERSLEBEN 1877: 20), das mir mein Grossvater vorsang, als er mir dreijährigem kleinen Mädchen auf der Schaukel Schwung gab, musste von der Lagerkapelle in Auschwitz gespielt werden, wenn einem Häftling die Flucht misslungen war und er zum Galgen geführt wurde (FACKLER 2001: 353). „All mein Gedanken, die ich hab', die sind bei Dir" aus dem Lochamer Liederbuch (Lochamer Liederbuch 1926: 145–147) mag ich nicht mehr hören, seit ich weiß, wie perfide es in Veit Harlan's Film „Jud Süss" (HARLAN 1940) missbraucht wurde.

Nun aber zu den Interpretinnen, die ich Ihnen vorstellen will. Die erste deutsche Folk-Gruppe, die es zu überregionaler Bekanntheit brachte, war „Elster Silberflug" aus Heidelberg. Gegründet wurde die Gruppe 1971 von Ulrich Freise, Thomas Ziebarth und Hartmut Hoffmann auf einer gemeinsamen Indienfahrt. In den folgenden Jahren kamen Lutz Berger, Diethard Hess und – beim Aufenthalt der Gruppe in Heidelberg – Barbara Grosse hinzu. „Elster Silberflug" machte zunächst vor

allem Strassenmusik und die Gruppenmitglieder lebten als Wohngemeinschaft zusammen. Barbara Grosse, spätere Freise, setzte mit ihrer sehr hohen, manchmal kindlich wirkenden Stimme den weiblichen Akzent. Barbara Grosse hat die Odenwald-Schule, eine Reform-Landschule, besucht und deswegen nicht die übliche deutsche Schulerziehung erhalten. Ihre Familie war deutsch-amerikanisch – von daher hat sie auch eine etwas andere Beziehung zur deutschen Vergangenheit. Bei den Balladen sind es die, in denen von Geistern oder Zauberei die Rede ist, die ihr besonders liegen. Sowohl die Ballade von Herrn Oluf als auch die von Grossmutter Schlangenköchin wurden von der Gruppe dem Orff'schen Schulwerk (ORFF 1950–1955) entnommen. Bei „Herr Oluf" (HERDER 1779: 158) legt die Interpretation der Gruppe dem Zuhörer nahe, dass die Verweigerung des Tanzes den Tod gebracht hat und nicht die blosse Begegnung mit den Elfen, indem sie eine Strophe hinzusetzt: „Aber der Tanz geht so leicht durch den Hain. Durch den Hain geht so leicht der Tanz." Der Zusatz ist von Uli Freise und bringt die Ideen von freier Liebe ein, die von der 1968er Generation propagiert wurden. (Abb. 1).

Grossmutter Schlangenköchin (BRENTANO 1801: 111) erzählt im Zwiegespräch von Mutter und Töchterchen von dem vergifteten Essen, das die Grossmutter dem Kind bereitet hat und von dem es sterben wird. Mit diesem Lied tritt die Gruppe auch jetzt noch auf sogenannten ‚Mittelaltermärkten' auf, bei denen Handwerker alte Techniken – zum Beispiel Hufschmiede die Herstellung von Hufeisen, Korbflechter das Flechten von Körben zeigen.

Nachdem die Gruppe sich zeitweise „Zeitenwende" nannte, ist sie wieder zum alten Namen „Elster Silberflug" zurückgekehrt. Die Elster ist ein stolzer, kluger Vogel, der die Nester anderer Vögel ausraubt, sein eigenes Nest aber gerne mit glitzernden Gegenständen ausschmückt. Die Gruppe hat von Anfang an Wert auf eine altertümelnde, bunte Kostümierung gelegt.

Nun zur Gruppe „Holzrädchen": Emma und Volker Montenbruck haben diesen Namen für ihre Gruppe gewählt, nachdem Volker die erste Drehleier erstanden hatte. Das hölzerne Rad der Drehleier bringt den Bordunton ins Spiel. Ihre Kleidung betonte eher den Bezug zur „werktätigen Bevölkerung" – jedenfalls die Leinenhemden, die Volker und Harald, die Männer in der Gruppe trugen. Emma Montenbruck hat von der Mutter und Grossmutter viele Volkslieder kennengelernt. Zu Hause wurde viel gesungen. Nur eines dieser Lieder ist von ihr ins Gruppenrepertoire eingebracht worden: „Widele, wedele, hinter dem Städtele hält der Bettelmann Hochzeit..." (ERK–BÖHME 1893: Nr. 886). Die Mutter war in der Kriegszeit daran gewöhnt worden, selbständig Entscheidungen zu treffen und tat sich nach der Rückkehr des Ehemannes schwer damit, die traditionelle Rollenverteilung wieder zu akzeptieren. Der Familie ging es wirtschaftlich nicht sehr gut, es musste gespart werden. Emma sang im Schulchor mit, aber auch in Pfadfinder-Jugendgruppen. Als sie 13 Jahre alt war, begann sie sich – angeregt durch das Programm von AFN (American Forces Network), das man in Frankfurt gut empfangen konnte – für amerikanische Folkmusik zu interessieren. Zu ihrem 16. Geburtstag wünschte sie sich eine Gitarre und brachte sich das Spielen darauf weitgehend selbst bei. Seit 1965 interessierte sie sich auch für irische Folklore. Das Repertoire, das sie zu dieser

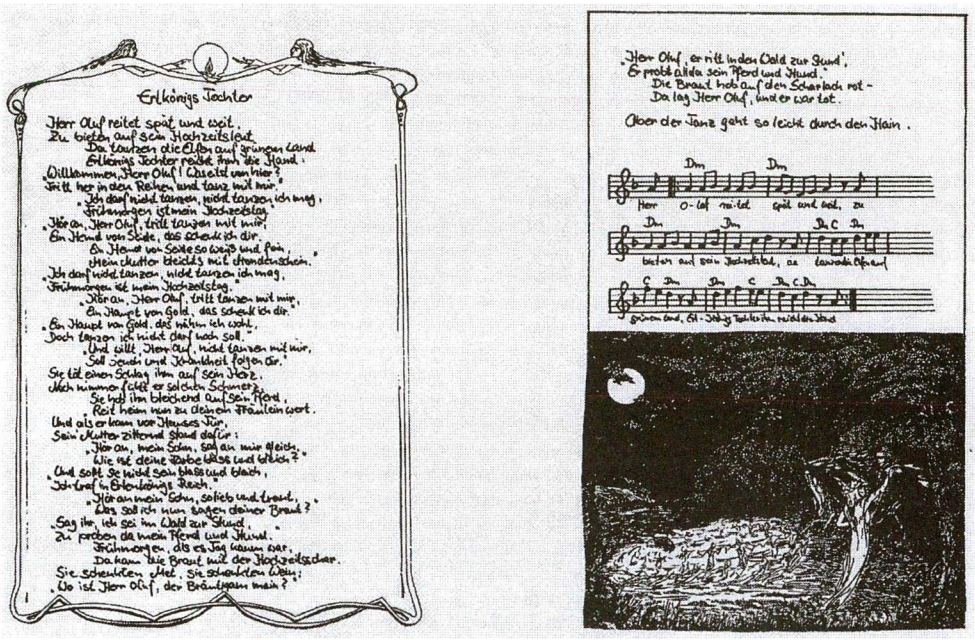


Abb. 1 aus: Grüner Zweig Liederheft, hrsg. von Elster Silberflug. Heidelberg 1975

Zeit hatte, war überwiegend englischsprachig. Anfang der 70er Jahre wurde sie auf die Giessener Frauengruppe aufmerksam und interessierte sich sehr für deren Aktivitäten. Sie stellte aber bald fest, dass ihre Lebensvorstellungen als berufstätige Frau und Mutter sich einigermaßen von denen der anderen Frauen in der Gruppe – in erster Linie Studentinnen – unterschieden. Themen, mit denen sie sich in der Frauengruppe beschäftigt hatte, besonders was die Rolle der Frau in Beruf, Familie und Gesellschaft angeht, griff sie in Liedern wieder auf und brachte sie ins Repertoire von „Holzrädchen“ ein. Dabei ging es oft um den Gegensatz zwischen arm und reich und das Thema: Heirat über Standesgrenzen hinweg, z. B. „Edelmann und Schäferin“. (Abb. 2).

In der Ballade von der Graserin und vom Reiter (ERK–BÖHME 1893: Nr. 71d), die ebenfalls zum Repertoire der Gruppe gehörte, ist davon die Rede, dass der Vater die Habe des Mädchens vertrunken hat und Gott sich ihrer erbarmen soll. Emma hat an dieser Stelle angefügt: „Gott wird sich nicht erbarmen / dass ich die Tochter bin. / Ich sorge für mich selber / und habe gut' Gewinn. Wesentlich bekannter als die Gruppe „Holzrädchen“ war neben „Elster Silberflug“ die Gruppe „Fiedel Michel“. Mit Elke Herold aus Münster habe ich mich ebenfalls über ihre Zeit als Sängerin in den 70er Jahren unterhalten. Ihr Hauptinteresse galt Liedern, die sozialpolitische Themen behandelten und sich mit der Geschichte der Revolution von 1848 sowie dem Widerstand gegen die Nationalsozialisten beschäftigten. Einige Lieder hat sie durch die Musikschule der älteren Schwester kennengelernt, die platt-

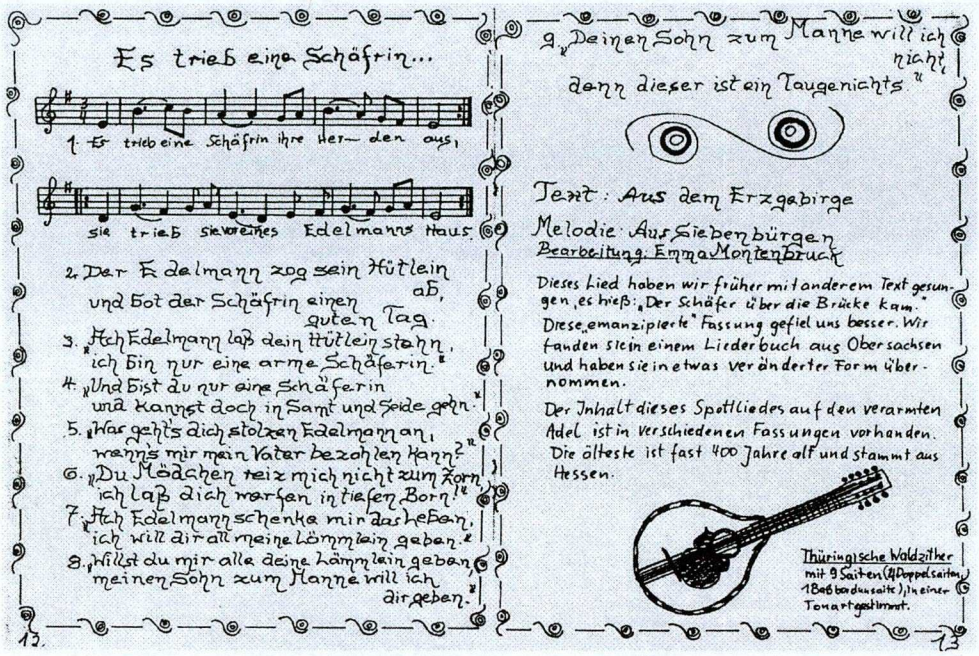


Abb. 2 aus: Holzrädchen. Liederheft 1. Hrsg. von Emma u. Volker Montenbruck. Giessen 1978. S. 12

deutschen Lieder und Tänze im Repertoire von „Fiedel Michel" von einer Volkstanzgruppe in Aurich. Sie hatte grosses Interesse daran, das Publikum zu aktivieren, zum Mitsingen und zum Tanzen anzuregen. An einer regelrechten Konzert-Atmosphäre lag ihr nicht so viel. Auch heute singt sie noch gerne und viel und auch mit ihren Kindern, die zum Teil schon erwachsen sind, sich jetzt aber wieder stärker für das Repertoire ihrer Mutter interessieren, als in den Jahren der Pubertät.

Jutta Schmeck von der Kieler Folkgruppe „Moin" war von Manfred Jaspers angesprochen worden, ob sie nicht mit ihm und einem Freund gemeinsam deutsche Volkslieder singen wolle, nachdem er sie an einem Abend im Studentenwohnheim die Ballade vom „Herrn von Falkenstein" (HERDER 1778: 232) singen hörte. Bei den Liederabenden im internationalen Studentenwohnheim war Jutta bewusst geworden, dass die Studenten aus anderen Ländern gerne Lieder aus ihrer Heimat sangen und sie nicht so recht wußte, was sie denn bei so einer Gelegenheit vielleicht vortragen könnte. Die Ballade vom Herrn von Falkenstein hatte sie in einer Sammlung gefunden und es gefiel ihr, dass die Frau in diesem Lied sich nicht mit einer passiven Rolle abfand. Später, beim Singen in der Gruppe „Moin" wurde zwar gemeinsam besprochen, wie ein Lied zu interpretieren wäre und wer die Gesangs- und die Instrumentalparts übernimmt und wie man arrangiert, die Liedauswahl war aber meist die Sache von Manfred Jaspers und in der Bühnensituation war er auch immer die dominierende Person. Von Jutta wurden einige plattdeutsche Lieder ins Repertoire eingebracht, weil ihr der heimische Dialekt wichtig war. Heute lebt sie in

Bonn mit ihrer Familie und organisiert gerne Folkkonzerte und andere Singgelegenheiten.

Die einzige Folkgruppe, in der zeitweise die Frauen in der Überzahl waren, nannte sich „Tonschusser" (das sind Tonkugeln, die von Kindern zum Spielen verwendet werden und in den verschiedenen Gegenden Deutschlands die unterschiedlichsten Namen haben: Klicker, Murmeln etc.) und lebte in München. Mit Renate Greifenstein, die in den 70er und 80er Jahren zur Gruppe gehörte, habe ich mich eingehend unterhalten. Renate kommt aus einer evangelischen Pfarrersfamilie. Sie hat durchaus Lieder, die sie aus ihrer Kindheit und von der Mutter kennengelernt hatte in die Gruppe mitgebracht. Prägend für den Musikstil der Gruppe war bei den Tonschussern zunächst die Begegnung mit irischer und schottischer Folkmusik. Dann wirkte anregend die Überlegung: gibt es ähnliches nicht auch bei uns in der Region? Das Blättern in Liederbüchern, sowie das Auswählen der Lieder aus der persönlichen Erinnerung, mit denen man sich identifizieren konnte, bzw. mit denen man provozieren wollte, fing an. Die Ballade vom Bettelmann aus Ungarn (ERK–BÖHME 1893: Nr. 139d) lernten sie durch einen älteren Freund – Arthur Loibl – eine Art Münchner Original, dessen Mutter einen Gemüsestand am Viktualienmarkt hatte, kennen. Generell ging die Initiative zur Auswahl eines bestimmten Liedes von Thomas Glowatzki – anfangs der einzige Mann in der Gruppe – aus. Auch nachdem später Peter Boll und nach dessen frustrierten Ausscheiden Willi Fischer in der Gruppe den Part des Geigers übernommen hatte, blieb das so. Die Arrangements wurden von Renate Greifenstein und Irene Wunderlich erarbeitet, Thomas trug die Balladen in einer Art Sprechgesang vor. Das Lied, das der Gruppe überregionale Bekanntheit – auch in den Medien – einbrachte, war keine Ballade, sondern ein bayrisches Mundartlied: „Du, du, dalketer Jagersbua" (SEIBERT 1974: 29) und wurde von den beiden Frauen gemeinsam gesungen. Dem Jäger im Lied soll etwas heim-gezahlt werden: Das „Hahnerl" soll ihm abgedreht werden, dass er nicht mehr „knalln" kann, dem Müller soll das Wasser abgezogen werden, damit er nicht mehr mahlen kann, dem Schreiber wird gedroht: „I sauf dir die Tinten aus, dass d'nimmer kannst schreibn!" Das war nicht wörtlich, sondern metaphorisch zu verstehen und es passte wunderbar in die damalige Diskussion um den ‚kleinen Unterschied' und die damit bei manchen Männern verbundenen Kastrationsphantasien. Thomas hat das amüsiert goutiert und davon profitiert, weil die ganze Gruppe mehr Erfolg und Aufmerksamkeit bekam. Nachdem auch Willi Fischer seine Mitarbeit in der Gruppe aufkündigte, brach sie endgültig auseinander: Thomas und Irene gingen nach Irland, Renate blieb in München, arbeitete zunächst als Klavierstimmerin und machte dann eine Ausbildung zur Musiktherapeutin. Hierbei nützt sie wieder ihre Volksliedkenntnisse – allerdings nicht die Lieder, die zum Gruppenrepertoire gehörten.

In der früheren DDR war die Folk-Gruppe, die das lebhafteste Interesse am traditionellen deutschen Volkslied zeigte, die Leipziger Gruppe „Folkländer". Ich habe mit Gabriele Last, heute Lattke, über ihre Erinnerungen an die Zeit in der Gruppe gesprochen. In der Familie hatte sie wenige Lieder kennengelernt. Sie hatte eine Gesangsausbildung in der Musikschule bekommen und im Chor Kantaten gesungen. In der Gruppe „Folkländer" spielte sie mit, weil Jürgen Wolff, den sie von

ihrer Ausbildung zur Graphikerin her kannte, sie dazu einlud und ihr das Instrumental-Spiel Spass machte. Sie hatte sich das Spielen auf der Gitarre, Geige, Flöte und dem Hackbrett selbst beigebracht. Die Lieder, die „Folkländer" sangen, wurden in erster Linie von Jürgen Wolff ausgesucht, der – neben Manne Wagenbreth – der Sänger der Gruppe war. Gabriele fand die Texte in erster Linie lustig und freizügig und war relativ irritiert, als sie und Ulrike Triebel, die in der Gruppe ebenfalls in erster Linie Instrumentalmusik machte, nach einem Festival in Rostock von Besuchern aus dem Westen darauf angesprochen wurden, wieso sie sich solche sexistischen Lieder gefallen lassen. Damit waren die derben Handwerksburschenlieder gemeint, die vor allem Jürgen Wolff sang. Ihr war vor diesem Vorwurf in erster Linie bewusst gewesen, dass die historischen Lieder unterschwellig die Verhältnisse in der DDR kritisierten. In den Handwerksburschenliedern war von Aufbruch und Reisen in ferne Länder die Rede, es wurden Reiseziele genannt, die für DDR-Bürger unerreichbar waren. Man spürte an der Reaktion der Zuhörer, dass dieser Nadelstich gegen die Regierenden bemerkt worden war und das machte Spass.

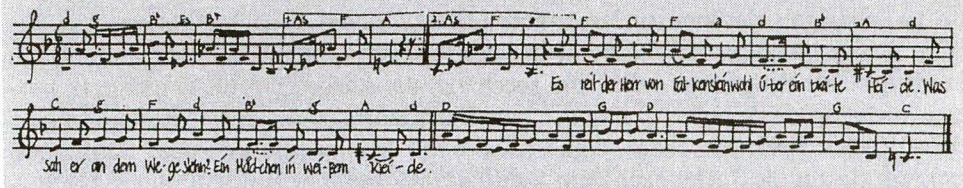
Eines der Lieder, das ihr persönlich besonders gut gefallen hatte, war die auch von Emma Montenbruck geschätzte Ballade von der Graserin und dem Reiter. Sie erinnerte sich vor allem an eine Strophe aus der Variante, die ihre Gruppe im Repertoire hatte: „Wär' ich als Knab geboren / ich zöge durch die Welt, ich würd' ein Handwerk lernen, verdient' mein eigen Geld." Auch die Ballade vom Herrn von Falkenstein schien ihr nicht zu den Liedern zu gehören, in denen sich über Frauen lustig gemacht wird. Was die Interpretation auf der Schallplatte der Gruppe angeht, ist das auch richtig. Die Präsentation des Liedes im Plattenbeiheft lässt andere Schlüsse zu. (Abb. 3).

Nach ihrer Ehescheidung Anfang der 80er Jahre änderte sich Gabi Lasts Bewusstsein in Bezug auf Lieder, in denen Frauen zum Objekt männlicher Heiterkeit gemacht wurden. Ausserdem waren zu dieser Zeit auch andere Sänger zur Gruppe gestossen; das Repertoire hatte sich mehr zum Liedermacher-Lied hin und von traditionellen Volksliedern weg entwickelt. Die ganze Richtung gefiel ihr nicht sehr gut und sie verliess die Gruppe.

Ganz anders war die Rolle von Scarlett Seeboldt in der Gruppe „Wacholder". Sie hatte ihre Gesangspraxis im Kirchenchor erworben. In ihrer Familie wurde gern und viel gesungen, allerdings nicht unbedingt das zeitübliche Repertoire. In der Familie wurde vor allem ernste Musik und Opernmusik geschätzt. Scarlett Seeboldt hat das in einem neuen Programm „Zum Beispiel Nilpferde", in dem sie viel über ihr Leben und ihre Familie erzählt, ironisch angesprochen. Schlager, die im Radio präsentiert wurden, konnte sie kaum zu Ende anhören, weil „die Bumsmusik" von den Eltern immer vorher abgeschaltet wurde. Ihre Wendung zum populären Lied kann auch eine Reaktion darauf gewesen sein. 1978 begann sie mit Jörg Kokott und Matthias Kiessling irische und schottische Volkslieder zu singen, die andere DDR-Gruppen bereits bekannt gemacht hatten. Ausserdem sangen sie einige plattdeutsche Lieder, sowie etliche Lieder, die sie von Hannes Wader und den Gruppe „Zupfgeigenhansel" und „Liederjan" gehört hatten und solche, die sie in der Sammlung von Wolfgang Steinitz (STEINITZ 1954–1962) gefunden hatten. Bei den Bespre-

Es reit der Herr von Falkenstein 110

Gabi: Whistle - Ulrike: Geige - Uli: Gitarre, Gesang - Manne: Mandoloncello, Gesang - Jürgen: Gitarre, Sologesang - Simone: Sologesang, Trommel



Es reit der Herr von Falkenstein
Wohl über ein breite Heide
Was sah er an dem Wege stehn
Ein Mädchen in weißem Kleide

Seid Ihr der Herr von Falkenstein
Derselbe edle Herre
So bitt ich um den Gefangenen mein
Den will ich haben zur Ehe

Den Gefangenen mein, den geb ich nicht
Im Turm soll er versauern
Zu Falkenstein steht ein tiefer Turm
Wohl zwischen zwei hohen Mauern

Steht zu Falkenstein ein tiefer Turm
Wohl zwischen zwei hohen Mauern
So will ich an den Mauern stehn
Und um meinen Liebsten trauern

Sie ging den Turm wohl um und um
Feinslieb, bist du darinnen?
Und wenn ich dich nicht sehen kann
So bin ich ganz von Sinnen

Sie ging den Turm wohl um und um
Den Turm wollt sie aufschließen
Und wenn die Nacht ein Jahr lang wär
Kein Stund tät mich verdrießen

O dürft ich scharfe Messer tragen
Wie unseres Herren Knechte
Ich wollt mit dem Herrn von Falkenstein
Um meinen Herzliebsten fechten

Mit einer Jungfrau fecht ich nicht
Das wär mir ewige Schande
Ich will dir deinen Gefangenen geben
Zieh mit ihm aus dem Lande

Eine der schönsten deutschen Balladen, deren Alter sich nicht so genau bestimmen läßt. Der Volkskundler würde sie in die Rubrik der Konfliktlieder zwischen Arm und Reich einordnen. Um uns nicht den offensichtlichen Ruf der Unsolidität einzuhandeln, verzichten wir hier auf eine tiefschürfende Ausdeutung des Textes.

Quelle: Erk/Irmer I, Heft 6, Nr. 36

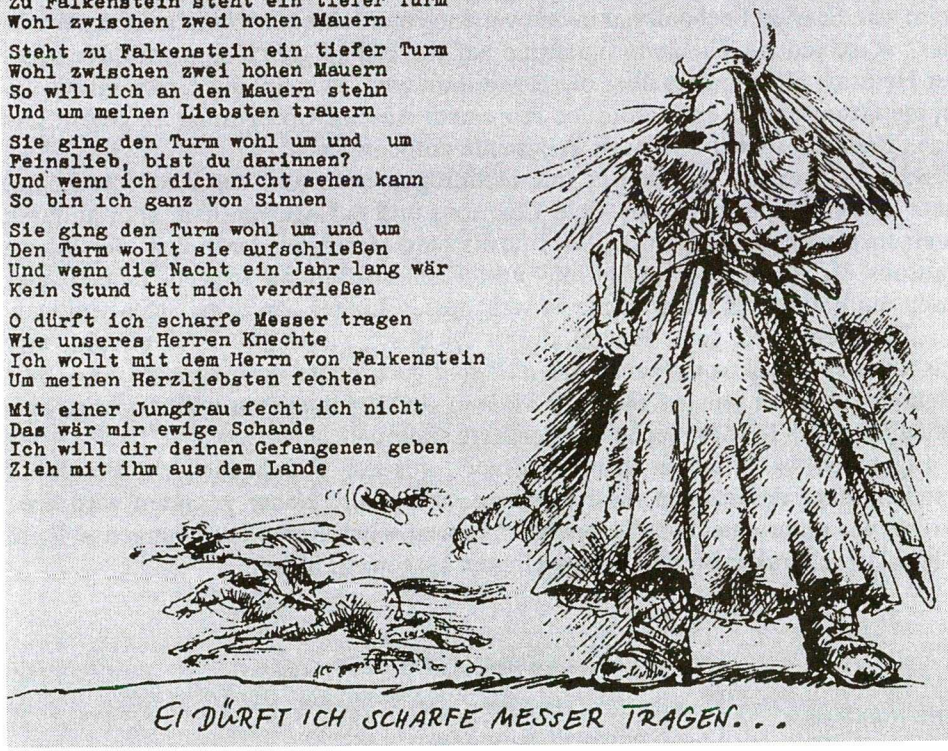


Abb. 3 aus: Kleine Reihe Deutsche Volkslieder. H. 6: Textheft zur Folkländer-LP. Hrsg. und Ill. von Jürgen Wolff. Leipzig 1982. S. 110

chungen innerhalb der Gruppe „Wacholder" fühlte sie sich von Anfang an gleichberechtigt und meinte das sei auch wohl von Almut Walther, spätere Kokott, die ebenfalls in der Gruppe mitspielte, so empfunden worden. Mit dem Vorwurf, zu wenig Lieder zu singen, in dem die Rolle der Frau thematisiert wird, ist sie auch konfrontiert worden. Das hat sie nicht weiter berührt. Sie fand es wichtiger, Emanzipation zu leben, als darüber zu lamentieren, dass Frauen benachteiligt werden. Sie wollte keinen „Jammerton" und hat bei den Volksballaden, die sie zusammen mit der Gruppe ins Programm nahm, die geschätzt, die starke Gefühle zeigen. „Ik hebbe se nicht op de Scholen gebracht", ein Balladenfragment aus Norddeutschland (ERK–BÖHME 1893: Nr. 188a), erzählt von einer Mutter, die ihre fünf Söhne aufzieht, um sie auf die Suche nach dem Vater zu schicken, der auf dem Meer verschollen ist und dem ihre ganze Liebe gehört. Erst als alle Söhne verdorben, gestorben und ausser Land ge-gangen sind, wird ihr bewusst, dass sie sich an ihnen versündigt hat.

Die andere Ballade, für die sie sich entscheiden hatte, ist die vom Bremberger (ERK–BÖHME 1893: Nr. 100). Eine Ballade, die das Motiv von der „Herzmäre" aufgreift. Der Geliebte einer schönen Frau wird erschlagen und sein Herz wird ihm aus dem Leib geschnitten, gekocht und von den Mördern der schönen Frau beim Gastmahl aufgetischt. Erst nachdem sie gegessen hat, wird ihr offenbahrt, was ihre Speise war. Scarlett Seeboldt hat in den vergangenen Jahren mit der Gruppe „Wacholder" verschiedene Themenprogramme auf die Bühne gebracht – darunter eines über Heinrich Heine, eines über die Revolution von 1848. Anfang dieses Jahres hat sich die Gruppe nach einer Tournee mit einem Abschiedsprogramm aufgelöst. Die beiden Balladen sind eben diesem Programm entnommen.

Scarlett Seeboldt tritt weiter mit Liedprogrammen auf, zur Zeit sowohl mit einem autobiographischen, das viele Chansons und Schlager enthält, zum anderen mit einem über den Komponisten Werner Richard Heymann, der in den 20er Jahren Chansons für die Berliner Chanson- und Kabarett-Bühnen schrieb, in den 30er Jahren ein berühmter Filmkomponist war, dessen Lieder häufig zu Schlagern wurden: „Ein Freund, ein guter Freund, das ist das Beste, was es gibt auf der Welt!" und „Das muss ein Stück vom Himmel sein..." sind auch heute noch Evergreens. – Nur verbindet sie kaum jemand mit dem Namen des Komponisten und das wird sich womöglich durch Scarlett Seeboldts Konzerte ändern.

Eigentlich wollte ich noch mehr Frauen aus der Folk-Szene der 70er Jahre vorstellen, aber das sprengt diesen Rahmen. Aus dem bisher gesagten wird aber deutlich, wie unterschiedlich die geschlechtsspezifischen Rollenerwartungen sich auf die hier kurz charakterisierten Interpretinnen ausgewirkt haben.

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RITUALISING THE NARRATIVE SONG: *THE GODFATHER'S SONG*

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Abstract: One of the most controversial areas of folkloristic studies are those concerning the theories on the genesis of genres, on the mobility and variability of the folkloric "text", on the process of its transition from one genre to another. There are still a lot of unanswered questions and unproved hypotheses concerning these intimate mechanisms of a mentality system of a certain social group, a mechanism that generates the re-functionaliztion of a folkloric "text" according to specific needs and specific contexts. For beyond the simultaneous presence of the same motifs and themes in genres with different functionality we have to take into consideration the case of those "texts" that due to the change of the register, in Hyme's sense, in which the transaction of meaning takes place, of their mode of performance and even of the arena of their performance, are being re-functionalised into another folkloric genre.

Starting from the special case of the Romanian narrative song *Letin bogat (The Rich Latin)* also known as *Cântecul Nasului (The Godfather's Song)* we shall try to analyse the ways a narrative song has been *ritualised* by means of its performance as a distinct sequence of the wedding ritual, developing in time into a sort of ritual song. More than that we shall also focus on the reverse process nowadays that of another semantic readaptation of the song due to the de-sacralisation of the wedding ritual and its transformation into a spectacular ceremony.

Keywords: wedding ritual, re-functionalisation of folklore text, Romanian rituals

One of the most controversial areas of folkloristic studies is that concerning the theories on the genesis of genres, on the mobility and variability of the folkloric "text", on the process of its transition from one genre to another. There are still a lot of unanswered questions and unproved hypotheses concerning these intimate mechanisms of a mentality system of a certain social group, mechanisms that generate the re-functionalisation of a folkloric "text" according to specific needs and specific contexts. For beyond the simultaneous presence of the same motifs and themes in genres with different functionality we have to take into consideration the case of those "texts" that due to the change of the register – in Hyme's sense – in which the transaction of meaning takes place, of their mode of performance and even of the arena of their performance, are being re-functionalised into another folkloric genre. What we refer to here is the "functional variation which takes place in performance and adapts the traditional element to its actual context and the processing of meaning" (HONKO 1998: 72).

Starting from the special case of the Romanian narrative song *Letin bogat (The Wealthy Latin)* also known as *Cântecul Naşului (The Godfather's Song)*, we shall try to analyse the ways a narrative song has been *ritualised* by means of its performance as

a distinct, almost compulsory, sequence of the wedding ritual, developing in time into a sort of a ritual song.

First of all, let us try to underline a few things about this narrative. The song about the Rich Latin is performed almost compulsorily during the wedding party, the performer being the one to choose the appropriate moment for its performance. The plot is simple. King Iancu is going to marry the daughter of the wealthy Latin from the city of Raşova in the distant region of Dobrodgea. His godfather is King Mihnea. They will travel to the distant destination together with their retinue. Approaching the wealthy Latin's castle they are noticed by this one who orders that the gates should be locked. Once arrived in front of the locked gates the bridegroom is asked by his future father-in-law to jump with his horse over the gates in order to open them so that the others can enter the courtyard. The bridegroom panics and the one who solves the situation is the godfather. He jumps over the gates and unlocks them for his young godson. Yet the wealthy Latin is not satisfied and he asks the bridegroom to jump with his horse over some casks full of wine and open them so that the retinue should have something to drink. It is for the second time the bridegroom panics and the godfather has to intervene to solve the crisis situation for his godson. However, the wealthy Latin asks for more: in order to get his bride the bridegroom has to choose her from several other girls dressed just the same. The bridegroom panics for the third time and his godfather has to solve the problem again. He uses a tray on which he places two apples and taking his sword he enters the room where the girls are. He orders the bride to come and pick an apple otherwise he will cut her throat with his sword. The bride is frightened and picks an apple, the problem being solved for the third and last time. The rest is simple. They return to the bridegroom's house accompanied by some soldiers sent by the wealthy Latin and the wedding party begins. Eventually the godfather mutilates the horses and mocks at the Latin's soldiers sending them back to the wealthy Latin's court. The moral conclusion of the song is clear and Latin himself utters it: one should never mess with the godfather.

There are also variants that end less happily. The bridegroom is urged by his mother-in-law to perform an old ritual gesture, in fact just another initiation test, the one of tearing the buttonhole of her shirt. However, he fails in doing that, tearing the shirt to pieces instead. This causes the mother-in-law's cursing him to fall from the horse and break his neck. This actually happens and the bridegroom dies. Therefore, the godfather has nothing else to do but to marry the bride to the younger brother of the deceased bridegroom.

Well, this is the story. Nothing special at first sight. The theme of the song is definitely epic, the mythical transparency could be easily noticed in its structure, the narrative's meanings being clear enough. The plot of the song reveals a sequence from the larger rite of passages that is the wedding, namely the initiation of the future bridegroom by means of his passing through several tests. The one who initiates is the godfather who actually takes over the difficult task of defusing the virtual tensions arisen between the father-in-law, as the main representative of the girl's family in the ritual, and the bridegroom caused by an exogamic wedding.

Catalogued by Sabina Ispas in the "fantastic" narrative songs' series and considered as typical for the group of songs narrating the fight for obtaining the wife, songs that as a moment of apparition are chronologically placed in the heroic epic context, the folkloric text develops narrative nucleus, motifs, themes from a very old fund, which has large implications in the traditions, practices, beliefs and representations system. (ISPAS 1995: 137). More than that, in such a context as the wedding ceremony, the epic clearly functions as a myth, a charter for ritual behaviour concerned with the central human values and the sacred origins of institutions. (HONKO 1998: 12).

Considering all these as a hypothesis for our analysis we shall proceed in trying to find out why and how has this, otherwise common epic song, grown into a ritual song detaching itself from the rest of the customary repertoire performed during the wedding feast. For we have to mention that this repertoire is large enough the wedding being the main context for the Romanian singer's performance of narrative songs. They are, of course, performed on other occasions too, but none of them is a ritual one. So the context and the arena of performance are rather special and even more special is an epic song that tells about this context and places the stress on the ritual actor who definitely dominates the wedding ceremony: the godfather. All these are good reasons to individualise the song and to make the audience ask for it at any such occasion. They are also 'signals' for the singer who will design the performance strategy so that it fits the audience and the context requirements. As Lauri Honko said "He (the singer) must define the limitations and contextual requirements that the performance situation sets on his singing of the epic. [...] in other words, the singer's performance strategy must be open and flexible to accommodate real life, not a premeditated script. The most striking observation about epic plot in our fieldwork was the governance of ritual order over the narrative order" (HONKO 1998: 140). After all, and this should be kept in mind, the storyline is more than just a string of events: it is a way to construct the social reality, to provide the sociocultural information it has been designated to.

Of course, each and every epic song does that. However, this one, the wealthy Latin's song is the one that fits the context best. It tells about the godfather and his heroic behaviour and about the ritual initiation the bridegroom has to pass through. These are important information and therefore, the singer will choose the exact moment of the ceremony, the main part of the feast to praise the stateliness of the most important actor of the wedding ritual. For neither the wedded couple, nor the parents are so highly respected by the rest of the participants as the godfather is. He is the absolute authority at the wedding and nothing can be done without his permission. The performance of this song implies the change of the register and the opening of a special communication path in the communicative interchange. It also activates a special 'node' which "brings, as professor Foley argued, into play an enormous wellspring of meaning that can be tapped in no other way, no matter how talented or assiduous the performer may be; everything depends upon engaging the cognitive fields linked by institutionalised association to the phrase, scene, paralinguistic gesture, archaism, or whatever signal the performer deploys to the key audience reception." (FOLEY 1995: 54).

This position was achieved by a long process of evolution of a real institution – godfathering –, which in time grew into one of the most important in traditional society. In order to better understand why this song has turned from the wealthy Latin song into the Godfather's song, which was the pressure mentality element we have to consider the godfather and the godfathering roles in Romanian traditional society.

But before that we have to make just one more observation that might be helpful in our analysis. One might ask oneself: is this song specific only for the Romanian area? The answer is no. This motif is common for the entire Balkan region. We can find it among Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks and also among the South Slavic Muslims from Bosnia. There have even been some attempts to find out which variant was the first one created and Petru Caraman, a Romanian scholar, came in his study to the conclusion that the Serbs were the ones who created this motif (CARAMAN 1998).

We could talk a lot on this but this is not our purpose. What we are interested in is to highlight the ways the Romanian variants differ from the rest in the Balkan area. And here are at least two major aspects: 1) the Romanian narrative song is sung almost only in a ritual context, the wedding ceremony and 2) the main character is the godfather and not a relative of the bridegroom as it is in the other variants. This is an important clue for our analysis as it clarifies some of the meanings of the narrative's refunctionalisation into a semi-ritual song. For as John Miles Foley argued "...the traditional phrase or scene or story-pattern has an indexical meaning vis-à-vis the immanent tradition; each integer reaches beyond the individual performance or oral-derived text to a set of traditional ideas much larger and richer than any single performance or text" (FOLEY 1995: 6).

Immanence may be defined as the set of metonymic, associative meanings institutionally delivered and received through a dedicated idiom or register during or on the authority of traditional oral performance.

Coming back to the godfathering institution we have to say that this institution can be considered as a real *pivot* institution of the community because of the special kind of relationship it induces among social groups, generating a series of particular laws and manifestations of the community.

As far as concerns the wedding ceremony and the godfathering role, we may say that this is the frame within which basically two distinct social groups interact a whole process of exchanges taking place. Even if another group assimilates one of the members of the other social group, an *alliance* being thus established, the descent remains a distinct social unit that gets and offers relationship elements. Whence the appearance of a strategy for exchanges. Exchanges imply mutations and generate a breaking of the state of equilibrium within the community. And when a lack of equilibrium is produced, a social disturbance appears among social groups and it is completely understandable that a mediation unit should appear, a unit that has gradually become institutionalised by rough and standardised scenarios built up according to certain laws of tradition. This institutionalised / mediating factor is, in the traditional Romanian society, the institution of godfathering.

Godfathering mediates between two types of terms inside the community: on a vertical axis, between the newly born child and the community, through baptism and on a horizontal axis, between two social groups when an alliance is established by marriage.

Primarily a Christian institution, godfathering seems to have had a strictly initiation character which superposed itself on ritual elements of pagan origin – the so-called "christening prehistory".

In the traditional Romanian community, the institution of godfathering has to be understood in terms of "contract". Unquestionably contracted at the beginning of the christening ritual, the institution of godfathering begins to functionally unfurl its attributions. Godmother's taking over the baby from the descent's midwife by saying: "I take over a pagan in order to christianise him..." is the bridgehead of the relation that is to be established between the godfather and the godson. This contradiction must be seen in institutionalising terms for we are dealing with an institution that functions according to extremely powerful traditional strategies, such as: the qualified initiation, the hereditary character, the highly socialising character and a set of interdictions used as access codes.

In the christening ritual, at least initially, the initiation character had the precedence, being generated by the rite of passage which was itself structured on two levels: the christianising and the naming of the newborn child that was an equivalent to his *lumirea* (social initiation) in terms of the newly born child's integration into the new condition, that of full member of the social group and, of course, of the community. The spiritual initiation meant to assume and to guarantee the Christian condition before the church by saying the promise to Christ in the name of the infant.

The godfather pledged himself to guide the Christian spiritual existence of the godson and to offer him a proper integration in the spiritual community. The passage to the secular dimension is made through the denomination ritual also unfolded in the church. These kind of rituals have a double purpose, that of individualising the infant and by that of assuring the fulfilment of his integration in the society. "If at the beginning to name the child was the parents task, the father's or grandfather's name being given for a long time according to the common patrilinear descent" (CONSTANTINESCU 1987: 90) in time, the godfather has taken over the right and the obligation of naming the child with his name, the godson having the obligation to bear it.

At this last level it is obvious that the ritual establishes a series of new relations which grows more and more into a social and economic type, the godfather being the economic stabiliser who is supposed to regulate virtual tensions arisen because of the appearance of a new consuming entity in the community. Godfathering must be considered mainly as an institution for backing up, the godfather being chosen from the rich, influential persons able to support materially and morally the contracted provisions. That seemed to have been the fundamental criterion according to which the institution of godfathering functioned during the whole Middle Ages. In addition, let us mention as an example the custom that a child should have had more

than only one godfather they having been understood as social protectors rather than initiators into a religious conduct. This is another step of evolution of the godfathering institution towards a *clientae* relationship based on exchanges, an approximate relation of a vassalage kind between the godfather and the godson. The relation was also based on reciprocal obligations because the interest was reciprocal too.

Moreover, in order to demonstrate how strong that mentality could have been I shall quote from another narrative song, *Peter the outlaw*. This is what Peter, the godfather, tells to his pregnant goddaughter: "If it is going to be a baby goddaughter / May God let her die / But if it is a baby godson / He will become my helper in the forest".

As the wedding "was simply an association of interests of a very natural kind and for women an institution of protection" (BLOCH 1996: 153) we should understand how strong the authority of a godfather implied in such an enterprise must have been. The godfather's role was rather a political one if we are to consider only the characters depicted in the narrative songs who were "either great feudal lords, owners of large territories, usually doubled by the quality of being warriors, military or leaders of the community." (ISPAS 1995: 140).

It was then the godfather's task to regulate the tensions of an exogamic wedding, which were usually very strong, often with the possibility of the outburst of real fights between the bridegroom's procession and the people from the village the bride was taken from. Conflicts of that kind are still to be found during the field investigations in the so-called *The Fox* custom. The godfather is to transport the bride and her goods to another village, but not before redeeming her from the society to which the girl had belonged. This ritual sequence is well depicted in another ritual wedding song "Come, come godmother / Beat your purse in order to gather money / To get your goddaughter out / If you want to get her / ... / For she's taking you over the mountains / To unknown parents..." (MARIAN 1995: 420). And we also have to recall here the narrative plot of our song. We shall mention the old Romanian custom of the godfather's taking over some tasks usually accomplished by the bridegroom's father. For example in the region of Soveja, the godfather is the one who takes care of the wooing of the future goddaughter, his function of a guarantor and mediator being solidly sustained by his unquestionable social position.

Although across the centuries deep social mutations and transformations took place, the institution of godfathering proved to be extremely flexible and resistant. We must not forget that we are dealing with an institution based on a hereditary character maintained right up to the present. A certain taboo character of the godfathering offers this solidity sustained by precise rules and a set of interdictions that standardise the institution's relationship with the social group. Moreover, beginning with the 17th century we can find these interdictions incorporated in laws promulgated in Wallachia and Moldavia. This kind of regulation of the relationship between the godfather and the godson shows the extraordinary religious, social and political authority of this institution. And we must mention the strong interdiction of incestuous relations between godparents and godchildren, of hitting the godfather and especially of the non-observance of the institution's hereditary handing down.

Let us not forget that one of the most terrible curses in the Romanian tradition is the godparent's curse which is even worse than the parent's one, a curse that is still extremely powerful. "Since the godfather's curse / Is worse than anything else in the world". Godfathers are inherited by father's descent, to change them being theoretically impossible. Not even the godfather's death could lead to the cancelling of this relationship. "You are not allowed to abjure your godfathers for then a terrible trouble comes. Only if the godfather wishes to drop you and be your godfather no more. Then you can choose somebody else.", confessed one of our informants, Maria Pacurariu from the village of Ieşelniţa, in 1995. Whether the godfather has two or more children the man has to stand godfather and only if he wishes to pass it to his sister he will. But he does not have to. Godfathers who stood godfather for the christening must stand godfather for the wedding too. Anyway, we have found out during our investigations that the appelative syntagm *the young godfather* is very well underlined in order to distinguish between the godfather in charge and his son.

On the other hand, the godfather mediates the relationship with the local authorities. He is the one to set connections between the new incoming social group and the landowners, with the seigniorial authority, guaranteeing for the relationship's steadiness and for his godsons in a time when the feudal relationships were still functioning.[1] And if we take into consideration the fact that in the Romanian regions we can speak about such a relationship till the beginning of the 19th century, we shall be able to limit nearly precisely the active area of the institution.

We have tried to outline the extraordinary force and authority the godfathering has had in the traditional Romanian society as a solid argument for the apparition of a godfather's ritual song within the wedding ceremony.

However, in order to understand what makes this narrative song so special, we have to say a few words about the context of its performance. As we have already mentioned, the wedding party was the main opportunity for a singer to perform his repertoire of epic songs. The other occasions during the year were extremely limited thus this special ceremony became the traditional performance arena of the epic songs. Each singer's repertoire was very rich and he used to choose the songs which were the most appropriate for the event, the selection being determined only by the auditor's good will and, of course, by the singer's also.

It is in this respect that the originality of the song about the *Wealthy Latin* is derived. While the performance of any other narrative song was a question of a more or less arbitrary process of selection, the performance of the godfather's song was absolutely compulsory. This fact came from the song's mythical and ritual connota-

[1] "In Oltenia region the wedding procession went from the church straight to the landowners house in the village. The wedding guests sat down in the courtyard and the godfather together with the best man ask for the landowner's permission to enter the house. When entering the house, after wishing 'Good luck!' and kissing the boyar's hand and his palm too and taking it to his forehead according to the peasants custom and after begging not to be suspected for too much daring they ask if the boyar allows the newly weds to come in. The master usually answers 'Gladly...'. (...) Only then the godfather comes out and shouts: 'Come on, my godson and my goddaughter, the master wants to see whether you are good at hoeing and cutting..." (SEVASTOS 1990: 300).

tions that led to its being considered as a specialised, almost ritual focal event among the other sequences of the ceremonial. This also came from the canonical, normative message contained in the subtext of the narrative song. Its message *forteaza* performance register's change, the auditors, already familiar with this code of communication, *reading* the text as such. And this is due to the fact that beyond the simple *story* narrating happenings that took place a long time ago, facts which build up a character having all the features of a hero, the text contains information on an extremely powerful initiatory institution whose authority must under no circumstances be questioned or disobeyed. After all such texts "relate an ontology and a cosmos to an aesthetics and a morality: their peculiar power comes from their presumed abilities to identify fact with value at the most fundamental level, to give to what is otherwise merely actual, a comprehensive normative import" (GEERTZ 1973: 127).

The song contains a behavioural code in reference to an institution, by this means it regulates and reinforces the relationship the newly created social entity should have with the extraordinary authority of the godfathering institution. It is from this point of view that the song can be *read* as a ritual text having a legitimisation and reinforcing character of the godfathering institution. "Although the common use of the term "legitimation" implies a simple opposition of force to artifice or the real to the symbolic, it is generally well understood that legitimation is one of the powerful things that ritual does" (BELL 1992: 194). That is the reason why we consider the epic song about the Rich Latin not just as a narrative ritualised by means of repetitive performance within a ritual context but mainly as a ritual instrument per se used in the process of producing and negotiating of the relations of power inside the traditional community. We can talk here about *ritualisation*, not *of* the text but *through* the text, a process in whose economy the epic song has a special role because of its message in the subtext. However in order to make things clearer let us bring to the spot the fact that, as Catherine Bell argued, "as a strategy for the constitution of power relation that appears to be instinctive to the socialised agent, ritualization involves two basic dimensions. The first dimension is that of the dynamics of the social body, its projection and embodiment of a structured environment. Ritualization in this dimension, as we have seen, is a process that works below the level of discourse. It produces and objectifies constructions of power (...) which the social agent the reembodies. Ritualised agents do not see themselves as projecting schemes; they see themselves only acting in a socially instinctive response to how things are" (BELL 1992: 106).

Just like any other normative-regulating institution, godfathering has in stock such ritual instruments as the narrative songs might be considered. We shall mention only several such narratives: *Aga Balaceanu*, *Vartici* and *Peter, the outlaw* (Patru Haiducul). Each of these texts contains canonical elements belonging to a behavioural code one should consider while dealing with the godfathering institution also clearly delimiting the bad consequences the breaking of such a code might have. For example, in *Aga Balaceanu*, the godson who betrays and kills his godfather is cursed by his godmother that once dead he should not rot for nine years, which is a terrifying curse in the Romanian tradition; in *Vartici*, the incestuous relation between god-

mother and her godson, started by the godmother, leads to the terrible death of the woman who broke the law. Even the idea contained in the text of the *End of the century*'s Christmas Carol ("When it is going to be the end of the century, / The end of the Earth? / [...] When the son beats his father, / The daughter/ Her mother, / *The godson / His godfather*") seems relevant enough for what was the position of this institution within the community.

Hence the nearly ritual, specialised character of the epic song. The godfather's song has enough elements that can lead to its definition as a semi-ritual song. Yet, we shall avoid classification such as *ritualised narrative song* because we do not totally agree to use here the term *ritualisation* in its procesual, durative sense. On the contrary when referring to this particular epic we would rather use this term in Bell's sense we quoted before. It is only in this way that we can talk about ritualisation in the case of the godfather's song.

In the same time we want to avoid the transante limitation concerning the genesis and the initial functionality of this text, being perfectly aware of the risks such an enterprise might imply.

What we really wanted to underline in our paper was the fact that performing a folkloric text within a ritual context does not mean its automatical ritualisation. On the other hand, the links with such a powerful normative institution as godfathering may lead to the specialisation of the text and its transformation into a ritual instrument used to reinforce this institution's authority within the social group.

This is the reason why, despite the obvious desacralisation of the wedding ceremony and its shift towards a more spectacular area, the godfather's song is still performed as a compulsory element by the only few old singers in the southern part of Romania.

THE WEALTHY LATIN MAN[2]

Flowers green, kingly flowers,
At the rich kingly houses
That are seen from Stoienesti,
Flames throw it to Bucharest,
Sparkles down to Letesti,...
A large table 's been laid,
Full of boyards sitting close
And what do they talk about?
About Iancu's being betrothed,
Iancu Prince is getting married
And Mignea Prince is his god-father.
But where does he take his bride from?
From the town, in Dobrodgea
From the wealthy Latin man,
Cursed, mean dog
Not yet Christened!
What does the Latin do, my Lord?
He gets on his carriage
A spy glass under his arm
Looking out across the field
Seeing clouds of dust rise high.
He stands and muses calmly:
'Were it wind dust,
It would spread across the field;

[2] This text is our translation of the "Letin bogat" in AMZULESCU, Al. I. 1981. *Cântecul epic-eroic*. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei.

This is not some simple dust
It is mixed with marriage vapour!'
He then orders plumbers
To lock all his gates
Latches them heavily
With plough iron bars
Sweating all field labour...
When the carriages arrive
Stop right outside the Latin's gates
And remain in stock out there
All upholstered in green cloth
And prepared for high ceremony...
What does the Latin then do?
He shouts loud once
In his mother tongue,
He shouts thrice in Dobrodgean
And responds in Romanian,
Nobody yet understands him:
'Who is the bridegroom,
The bridegroom to be married,
Let him shrug his shoulders
Just like falcons' heavy wings,
Let him stand from all his mates,
Mates and riders
From all his friends,
And let him jump over my walls
Unlatch all the gates
And let the carriages come in.'
When the bridegroom hears this
Starts crying like a woman,
But his god-father seeing him
Soothes him with sweet words:
'Don't lose heart my god-son,
Mine and God's Himself,
Pray to Him
That I am healthy
And to Virgin Mary
That your godmother be well
And I'll help you out of this.'
He then climbs on Libru's back,
Spurs, enflames it,
That the horse foams heavily
He takes foam in his hand
And throws it to the ground
Where it turns into thick ice...
He once spurs the horse
That jumps over the high fence
He then unlatches the gates
And all carriages come in:
And remain in stock out there
All upholstered in green cloth
And prepared for high ceremony...
When the Latin sees it
Does not give up
And shouts out loud once more:
'Who is the bridegroom,
The bridegroom to be married,
Let him jump on my wine barrels
And spigot them out
Let the wines spill over'.
When the bridegroom hears this
Starts crying like a woman,
But his god-father seeing him
Soothes him with sweet words:
'Don't lose heart my god-son,
God forgive me
I'll help you out of this
If I am to die for it.'
He climbs on horseback
Spurs it three times
Barrels break into pieces
Wines are spilled over the ground
The guests' horses drink it all.
Flowers green, gillyflowers,
What does the Latin do?
He runs to town quickly
And chooses two girls
Like two twins to his daughter,
Same face, same figure
And he locks them in a room.
He shouts loud once
In his mother tongue,
He shouts thrice in Dobrodgean
And responds in Romanian,
Nobody yet understands him:
'Who is the bridegroom,
The bridegroom to be married,
Let him come and choose his bride

Damn him and his eyes!'
When the bridegroom hears this
Starts crying like a woman,
But his god-father seeing him:
'Don't lose heart my god-son,
Pray to Him
That I am healthy
And to Virgin Mary
And I'll help you out of this.
God forgive, my son,
I'll play the bridegroom in your stead.'
Flowers green, gillyflower,
He takes two round apples
Fastens his sword at his belt,
Climbs the carriage,
Enters the locked room
Puts the apples on the table,
And speaks his mind so:
'Which of you is the bride
Take an apple in her hand
For my cursed sword is used
To cutting off heads of lying girls'.
When the bride hears this
Discloses the secret herself,
Takes an apple in her hand
What does her godfather do?
He gently takes her by the hand
And has her get off the carriage
To give her to her husband;
His god-son takes her
Has her get on his own carriage,
Carriages start rolling home
But the bridegroom still stands there
'Cause his mother-in-law stops him
To tear her buttonhole into pieces...
But he doesn't tear it proper
She takes him by his throat
And tears his shirt
Cursing him awfully:
'If God had mercy
You reach your god-father
And start racing him
Libru stumble on his feet
Throw you down on your neck
Cripple you on life
Break your right hand
Save your left,
So that you keep the bridle in your
teeth
And ride like mute people.'
He doesn't pay attention to her words
And reaches his god-father
Telling him this:
'Dear god-father, sir,
When I took this horse
I praised him a lot'
They start racing
Libru stumbles on his feet
Throws him down on his neck,
Breaks his right hand
As the woman's curse foretold.
His god-father takes him
And raises him into his arms
Puts him next to his bride
And the bridegroom tells him this:
'God-father, it's such a pity!
We once kissed each other
Once, on our naked chest,
Now I feel I'm dying slowly;
Once, on our naked chest
Three times under the ...
Now I feel I'm dying slowly.'
When he says this
He passes out
What does his god-father do?
When reaching home,
He takes the young bride
And gives her to his youngest son.
He both weds
And mourns the same day
Burying him at the kingly church
Lord, to ever be remembered
And so he will,
As long as the sun is in the sky,
The sun will go up and down
The words will tell the story...

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THE PERFORMANCE OF EPIC SONGS IN FUNERAL CONTEXTS

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"All that an old song tells, really happened"

Abstract: "All that an old song tells, really happened." One of the traditional functions of performing epic songs is that of evoking the past. The act of performing is invested with the value of empathic communication with "old times" and with the ancestors.The agent who mediates between the audience and those who are evoked is the fiddler. These facts may place the performance in a context with a sacred dimension and funeral meanings.

Being involved in this specific act of communication, the audience has to play an active role. It has to be trained in "listening". The traditional coordinates of performing epic songs have changed. The category of epic song entered the passive repertoire of folklore. Using a questionnaire and interviews the author, together with a group of students, tried to draw the status of performing epic songs in Romanian contemporary society.

Keywords: funeral songs, changing the function of folk genres, reality or fiction, Romanian folklore

In order to search its object for study, folkloristics works as a meta-folklore, calling it a "folkloristic-text", which is a result of many operations, one of the most important being to select from the whole spectrum of cultural manifestations those which meet, at a specific moment, not only the criterion for defining folklore but the priorities of folklorists, as well. Constantly, the folkloristic text has to respond to the folkloric text. But, of course, the process of creation and transmission of the folklore unfolds itself independently by the folkloristic text. New phenomena occur, others become passive or disappear from the genuine context of performance, whether folkloristics is interested to notice them, or not. It may happen that, at the moment when folkloristics starts asking its questions about a specific issue, this comes too late in historical time. In such situations the data have to be reassembled beginning with documents recorded by chance and, at the same time, in concordance with related facts, which have already been studied. There is a danger here, since almost any new information, a theory, an attitude, etc., is susceptible to change the folkloristic text, so the structure has to be regarded as a flexible one.

Ballad and epic song entered the attention of (Romanian) folkloristic text long ago. It is defined as a "genre for listening", implying the need for a large audience which has to be entertained. Even if entertainment was primarily understood as a "divertissement", or, as "the telling and passing on of stories" being "thus one of the primary ways in which cultures speak to their members and thereby maintain a sense of coherence, indeed of history" (BARNOUW–KIRKLAND 1992: 52), the entertain-

ment function of narrative non-ritual songs has been especially underlined by scholars. In this regard, most research has been devoted to the wedding and other parties. Any act of performance that consists in "actual execution of an action as opposed to capacities, models, or other factors that represent the potential for such action or an abstract from it" (BAUMAN 1992: 43) require to bring context into the discussion. Taking M. Foley's term of "performance arena", the place where "events are not repeated but recreated" and experienced by the audience (FOLEY 1995: 47), and in concordance with P. Ruxăndoiu's analysis of generic context (RUXĂNDOIU 1997: 191–210), it may be supposed that the performance of epic songs and ballads in different contexts may change the range of its functional priorities. The context of entertainment may be weakened by those of information, evocation and communication. Does something new happen when epic songs are performed in a funeral context, apart from the situations offered by weddings and other parties?

In the Romanian traditional system of beliefs, the entire life of an individual is composed both by his/her antum and postum existence. The death, the real death is related to the Last Judgement, which will occur at the end of time. Till then, the anthropomorphized soul is imagined as spending a life similar to that spent during the antum existence: he eats, drinks, wears clothes, smells, is warmed by fire, watches the light, dances, listens to music. All these specific needs are assured thanks to the help of living people through praying, acting rituals, and offering alms: food, water, light, clothing, odours, dance and music. The gesture of giving alms is accompained by the words: "Let it be for the soul of X" or "In the name of X". The goals are extremely important:

1. to keep the dead content, to avoid their interference with "our" world out of the consecrated moments and ceremonies, which control the balanced communications between living people and the dead.

2. to keep the soul "alive" until the time for the Last Judgement, in order to be resurrected. In the following, the intention of this paper is to discuss a few aspects of how the performance of epic song and ballads is involved in the actualisation of this second goal.

The Romanian noun for alms, "pomana", belongs to the same etymological field with the verb "a pomeni" that means, among others to mention something or someone's name. At the time of Doomsday, to hear your name when the "chosen ones" will be called to spend immortality in the presence of God, is a supreme reward which deserves all efforts. In this regard, the stress on the commemorations of the dead, the fact that the funeral ceremonies are ample and carefully respected within Romanian traditional culture does not express a "morbid" attitude regarding life. On the contrary, since the focus is not on the end of the life but on the Resurrection, and on the eternal life, a new perspective of the future may be sustained.

I mentioned the practice of offering songs, including ballads and epic songs, as alms. Usually, those who order and pay the fiddler to perform "in the name of X" are women, in concordance with the major roles and responsibilities they have in all funeral practices. The songs offered respect the preferences the deceased manifested during his/her life.

"Did specialised contexts exist for performing songs as alms?" "Did such a context exist and, if so, which songs were preponderantly offered?", "What was the place of epic song among other genres?", "Are epic songs suspected to have had a ritual function?" The limited information I have been able to find creates difficulties when trying to answer the above questions.

In 1968 Alexandru Amzulescu asked one of his best informers, Mihai Constantin (Lache Gazarul) to play epic songs. As an answer, the fiddler invited the folklorist to Desa, a village from Oltenia, close to the Danube, on the occasion of a collective commemoration of the dead, "Sarindarul de obste", which consists of religious sequences followed by a collective feast when people consume blessed food they had offered as alms to each other. Fiddlers are hired to perform during the feasts and are asked to play songs in the name of the dead. Here is a modality for the dead and the living to sit, eat, drink and listen to music together, around the same table. This fieldwork resulted in a film on how Mihai Constantin performed a heroic song. Among interesting observation and data, archived in AIEF, only a few concern the questions above, since the focus of the collector was on the act of performance, not on the occasion of performance, the funeral context. But, we have the attestation of the practice! A specific atmosphere is created during such celebrations, which combine "a collective modality for expressing the very close connections with the dead", on one side, and, "an opportunity for having fun for the living", as Alexandru AMZULESCU noted (AIEF, I.28177), on the other side.*

"To keep alive" also implies to preserve the memory of things that happened, to assure a future for the past events and for the persons creating the events. Functionally speaking, the Romanian epic song contains two successive ending formulas. The one placed immediately after the end of narration explicitly asserts the preservative feature of both the creation and the performance of epic song: "Let it be mentioned!" ("Sa se pomeneasca!"). For asking to be paid, the fiddler uses the other formulas hence they have a contextual function to signal the end of the narration.

In the southern part of Romania there is still alive, although not frequently used, the practice of ordering the fiddler to compose a so-called "oral chronicle" narrating dramatic events that happened not far in the past and that get a chance to enter the impressed oral memory through a traditionally constituted form. Often the narrated events refer to the tragic death of a person and the family of the deceased orders the song; one of the reasons for their step is precisely to keep in the attention of the community their relative as a character of the song.

Within the frames of oral societies, as ours preponderantly was up to the beginning of the 20th century, written documents did not have a large literate audience. The human need to know how things happened, to find models and justifications for present conduct and identities urged them to be informed and to search the past. The attitude of the narrated events was positive and unquestioning. They were not

* It should be added that the funeral rituals consist of several major sequences. We have approached only the postburial one, which is the table set for the family, friends, neighbours.

stories, but the history of the forerunners, evoked in front of gathered people. Here is the justification of the informative function of epic songs.

Watching the genuine context of performance, well caught in the film made by Alexandru Amzulescu, it was interesting to note the reactions of listeners to the events recounted: they were touched, expressed satisfaction (by laughing, slapping their hands), disagreement and surprise. Since they were not listening to the song for the first time, why did they react like that to events they already knew? It looks as if the past was actualised, being given a place in the present. Both informative and evocative functions of the epic songs create an emphatic communication between people living in the present and those living in the past. The communication also takes place horizontally, among the group of listeners, whose cohesion is reinforced. Being involved in this specific act of communication, with a sacred dimension, the audience has to play an active role, to be trained how to listen and how to behave. In his turn, the fiddler acts as the one who gives away "pomana" in the name of the deceased's family. In this regard, the ending formulas of epic songs, when the payment is asked, not only signal the end of the performance but they can also suggest "mutual gifts".

On the base of one of the most suggestive and detailed description of the manner of performing epic song during the wedding party, made by Ovidiu Barlea (BĂRLEA, 1983: 128). I think the communication with the forerunners is also induced during the wedding party, mainly by the spirit of performance. Thanks to the evocative and informative functions of "old time songs", as epic songs are called by those who created, transmitted and asked to listen to them, a split in the present time, oriented to the past, may be opened when people who share the same background are gathered.

There are specific epic songs susceptible to have had funeral meanings underlined by folkloristic interpretation, which also gave them funeral functions. Sabina ISPAS put forward a hypothesis that "it seems that at each stage of the life circle and at times of transition (rites of passages) some epic texts were used in ceremonies" (ISPAS, 2000). They did not enter the present discussion, focused on the *role* of the performance, delimited by the content of the songs performed. The justification for this artificial separation is the lack of data.

At the end, two different frames of discussion have been offered for the epic songs. One of them is explicitly situated in a funeral register, when epic songs are performed as alms during collective commemoration of the dead. This belongs to the genuine folk context and concerns the deceased relatives, the community's deceased, being a segment of the worship of the dead. The other one, which underlined the evocative capacity of the performance of epic songs and suggests a worship of the heroes, belongs to the folkloristic text; the possible funeral meanings are induced by interpretation. A connection between the two situations is due even to the act of performance of old times songs, which brings together those who were with those who are.

Nowadays, when epic songs enter the passive repertoire of Romanian folklore, it is more and more difficult to study the epic song "live" and to study its meanings in

the genuine context. The fiddlers forget them, since the audience is not interested and trained in listening to them any more. Concerning how epic songs have been performed as alms, the stage of dissolution of the genre creates bizarre situations. In 1999, during fieldwork in Romanian communities in Bulgaria, we met a woman whose father was a fiddler with a large repertoire including epic heroic songs. She recorded him playing and singing. She told us how important are the tapes not only because they preserve her father's voice. There were no longer any fiddlers able to perform the repertoire and in the manner her father had done, hence the daughter found the ingenious method of discharging her duty of offering songs as alms in the name of her father: she uses the tapes and offers the recorded music to the people invited to commemorate the fiddler's memory on the occasion of requiems.

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UPDATING THE TRAGIC HERO EPOS

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Abstract: The epical hero is a daring fighter, and very often, behaving as a nonconformist, as he used to break the rules... He is not just an adventurer, but a personality assuming the responsibility of searching life's significance. Novac's Gruia, the hero of a South-East European ballad cycle willingly enters the space where the wild girl lives to fight her and to obtain her as a wife. He cuts the line of the enemies provoking them to fight, in order to demonstrate for the other and for himself that he can challenge his capability. Another hero provokes Frost as God's power and loses his entire army in that competition with a non-human authority. Apart from the hero in the fairy tales, the hero in songs has no miraculous helpers. He is a fighter but not an adventurer. He is a searcher who wants to test the norm by himself. On that coordinates the modern hero of the audio-visual productions related with a new psychological attitude tries to find the reason of his actions but more like an individual who has to be persuaded that the social rules are correct. Frequently the end is dramatic. Breaking the traditional law and the link with the group he is alone from the very beginning and at a disadvantage. When he loses he frequently dies as a tragic hero.

Keywords: epical hero, folklorism, consumer culture

The *hero with thousand faces* (CAMPBELL 1956) is the prototype of any central character of a narrative – in prose or verse, recited or sung, no matter what it is – myth, fairy-tale, legend, heroic epic, ballad, etc. Every category necessarily founds its identity also on the status of the hero – who is he, wherefrom does he come, who are his ancestors and parents, where does he go, whom does he fight, which is his end. The civilizing hero of a myth reveals sacred knowledge and initiates people. The civilizing hero of a legend is a discoverer. The civilizing hero of a fairy-tale is an initiate about whom the story goes. The hero of the sung story covers all these existential sequences and is also a representative of domestic life, with its every-day tragedies and complexes of all kinds.

The heroic legend and the heroic epic are histories of the society and culture which evolve depending on the cult of the hero (DE VRIES 1963). In contradiction to the divine hero, god or demigod, the traditional human hero exerts only a transient influence on mankind's history. A certain "conceptual pattern" of sung versified epics – the same from East to West – refers to the genesis, role, status of creators and interprets, qualities of the epic heroes and their actions. This pattern, intrinsically related to history, acts in a different way in different cultures and different historic periods. Epos heroes are the bearers of ideal "symbols" and turn into symbols themselves. Various stories, associated to the name of one and the same hero, may

have very different sources and originate from diverse historic ages. The heroes of an epic are characterized by their being knights, fighters, arm-bearers. The class of people whose life was devoted to honor was held in high respect by the Greek. The same may be said about the *chevalier* of the French mediaeval epic, as well as about the Spanish *caballero*, the Anglo-Saxon *cempa*, the Russian *bogatyr*, the Serbian *junak*, the Albanian *trim*, the Old German *held*, the Norwegian *jarl*, the Tartar *batyr*, the Uzbek *pavlan*, the Romanian *viteaz*.

The Byzantine chronicler Michael Ducas related events occurring in the South East of Europe between 1396 and 1402 and referred to the custom that young captive knights used to sing heroic songs in their native language for the banquets of Sultan Bajazet Ilderim. Beside Slavs, Magyars, Germans, he also mentions Wallachians. A document dated September 1, 1399 at Marienburg speaks about "Ein Walachischer Spielman". The Moldavian chronicle relates that in 1497 Moldavia's Prince, Stephen the Great, celebrated St. Nicholas' feast-day in his country-side residence of Hârlău. He invited his noblemen and his *viteji* to a banquet and musicians sang *songs of bravery*. In 1574, the Polish chronicler Matej Strykowsky crossed the Romanian principalities on his way to Constantinople and he was astonished to find there "a glorious age-old custom of praising the feats of princes and *viteji* by songs accompanied by violins, lutes and kobsas" (POP 1998: 315–316).

We shall dwell now on the popular song centered on bravery. The prevailing theme is the idea of the heroes' contests as to their physical and moral power. To perform such narrative songs, an appropriate spatial and temporal framework was needed, beside a specific creative technique and a well-informed audience. The evocative power of words accompanied by melody gave birth to genuine conceptual types of heroes. Their actions were described rigorously observing significant details, since every aspect of their dress, arms, horse harness and even of their stallion, was essential. In many heroic poems the horse is often a "character". This is the case of the horse of some Romanian *viteji* , such as Iovan Iorgovan and Toma Alimos, or of Şarat, the horse of the well-known Marcu Kral. These heroes had no face – they could be endowed with hundreds of faces, since their qualities and individuality never changed; they were type-heroes and a real *exemplum*.

The hero of the epic song is a daring fighter, very often behaving as a nonconformist, as he used to break the rules. He is not just an adventurer, but a personality assuming the responsibility of searching life's significance. He penetrates the lines of the enemies challenging them to fight, in order to prove to the others and to himself his own valour. Apart from the hero in the fairy tales, the hero in songs has no miraculous helpers. He is a searcher who wants to test the norm by himself.

Some of the earliest themes of heroic epos are related to the search for a wife, who was obtained by fighting monsters, her own family or even herself. The wife to be is first described as an aggressive female, carrying arms, who has to be subdued and tamed (WAGNER 1929: 1936; PROPP 1958; ZUMTHOR 1954: 1983; LE GOFF 1986; ISPAS 1995). After Christianization, the dynasty founders struggled against demons. Epic heroes became genuine "Christian knights", defeating dark forces, the same as military saints did. These heroes challenged the dark force, looked for it and

tried to kill it, even at the cost of their own life. The removal of evil, of destructive forces, of monsters – dragons – represented actions linked to the personality of the hero of the heroic epic and fairy-tale.

He was fearless, transcending human condition, as a symbol of the liberator, the justice-administrator, the spotless knight. This category includes the heroes who fight with the dragon or other monsters. The Romanian heroic epic knows several types of heroic epic songs whose heroes fight against dragons, giant snakes or other non-human forces. Yet, these knight-heroes are not always seen as "just". Sometimes their fight ends tragically; it does not result in liberation but hurts people. Such a hero is Iovan Iorgovan, who is both winner and defeated in the fight with a monstrous animal. (AMZULESCU 1981: 59–60). The knight-hero, equipped for hunting, with a proper horse, beater-dogs, falcon and appropriate arms, goes "on a Thursday morning" – an ill-fated day – to the Cerna river, where "many brave ones" went, never to return. He finds there a maiden with a giant snake coiled around her body. The snake warns him not to kill him, lest ecological disasters, destroy everything around, people and animals. Iorgovan, characterized by the song performer as "evil *viteaz,* may God chastise him", kills the snake, frees the maiden, kisses her and finds out that she is his own sister, run wild. The girl curses him for having kissed her "in the mouth". On their way back, in the middle of the Cerna river, the hero and his horse turn into stone blocks and the maiden becomes a flower. The snake was a *genius lectalis*, a defensor of the family. From its head there spring killer-flies, which lay waste the county.

The family of fighting tragic heroes also includes Marcos Pasha [That ballad provided subject matter for long-term disputes relative to the historic character of sung epics, in Romanian folkloristics. (AMZULESCU 1981: 62–64)]. The brave army commander Marcos Pasha takes the initiative of challenging Jack Frost. He goes to the well where that atmospheric force is dwelling and invites him to fight: "Come out from the well, ye, Frost. So that I may fight with you... And I shall kill you like a dog". Jack Frost agrees to fight and freezes the hero's whole army with his power. Marcos is the only one who survives, to serve as an example for other thoughtless persons that would like to wrestle with non-human powers. Iovan Iorgovan and Marcos Pasha are tragic heroes; they sin by hybris and transgress the rule of living in harmony or tolerance with the non-humans. They are reckless but also prompted by the urge to search, by dissatisfaction with their own status; they act like seekers for truth, aiming to thoroughly live the excitement of fighting the enemy up to utterly destroying it but they eventually become the victims of their own yearning for supremacy. The challenge to fight is a means to know their own limitations, to turn to account their valour but also to be self-destroyed. That is why, the foe can only be identified and killed. The human hero feels that the non-human foe is a danger for mankind or for the hero's community. It cannot be tolerated and has to be annihilated. Such heroic stories used to be masterfully sung for hours, days or nights on end. The audience spent days on end listening to the singer's account of the most valiant hero strong, aggressive, ruthless.

Is it possible to witness something similar in modern times? In the computer's

era, nobody would ever spend time and energy to listen to sung stories. Stories of any category are now replaced by color images, on TV screens, video cassettes or CD-s. The heroes fighting dragons or Jack Frost are relegated to the world of cartoons, comic strips or science fiction films (in intergalactic journeys, there appear offidian inhabitants of an unknown planet; immortal creatures passing through the time tunnel struggle against the Evil originating from a faraway century). The good ones always win, since they come from the world of fairy tales to that of the present.

Our contemporaries evince a particular propensity to confront beasts of prey and also to discover and reconstruct the most aggressive and outsized animals that ever lived on earth. Such an instance is the dinosaur. Scientists, script-writers, cartoon-producers, designers of fun fairs seem to be extremely fond of dinosaurs. Those gigantic prehistoric animals have invaded the sentimental market. They are now present as toys, fancy ornaments, Halloween costumes. Children are pleased to have their head photographed above huge pasteboard bodies of such giants. One may say that the twentieth century's heritage is the epics of the dinosaurs. Nobody ever saw the real ones. We know only man-made ones of Jurassic Park or the kind and playful structures made of metal and plastic. Today no one thinks that the real dinosaurs – hideous and aggressive – should be hunted like the dragons of the mediaeval epics. They do not give birth to fear – the most normal and human feeling in that situation – because the truth that concerns them is still an unknown story. They have turned into instruments meant to annihilate *fear,* not by heroic confrontation or defeating them, but by disparaging them and by mystification. Pasteboard animals and cartoon images are kind and understanding; they do not attack or kill people, the stylized reproduction of nature results in granting character features to the animal, a component of that nature. The tragic hero disappears and is replaced by a precocious child playing with Dino. Images on the screen are accompanied by a commentator's voice and a musical background with nothing heroic in it. We are urged to love nature and live in harmony with it. Very few contemplate the possibility of a real encounter with the monsters and the *fear* that would overcome us frail and sensitive people, obliged to face those gigantic creatures; hunters and game, nature and culture. In the world of pasteboard creatures and scholarly research of the planet past there is no place for the sung history about the a struggle between man and beast, chanted during a whole night. The sung story has turned into film images, Jurassic Park a.s.o.

A new facet of the confrontation between man and beast is provided by the very well-known story of *Crocodile Hunter.* (Discovery Channel TV International). It is full of realism, even didactic, a kind of course on applied zoology, delivered by the agency of the ever present TV. The main character has benefited from scientific education, an outstanding theoretical documentation and comprehensive applied knowledge, studying the animal kingdom, from ants to bats, from rats to elephants. The Australian Steve Irvin is an erudite professor, commentator, actor and animal caretaker. His wife has got a "crocodile hunt" as wedding present and she accompanies him in his journey through forests, savannahs, whirling rivers, over waterfalls and precipices. His aim is to meet animals in exceptional conditions. The *Discovery*

film points out that this real hero survives from the most unexpected encounters with monsters living in our time, but those encounters are not haphazard. They are planned by centers that provide the ecological control of the planet, in order to save animals, not to kill them. That hero does not resort to arrows or swords. He uses networks as traps, harmless tranquilizers that cause lions and elephants to sleep, or crocodiles and anacondas to be motionless. Steve's world seems to be a world of harmony; not only does he save animals instead of killing them, he also provides them a most appropriate area for life and reproduction, since he is well aware of their biological requirements.

The hero-knight of the heroic epic and his descendants have bravely and firmly fought against the real or apparent danger that threatened their families and they reduced the number of beasts of prey. The modern hero of the scientific screen mounts a crocodile – possibly humiliating it –, grabs the tail of a venomous snake to ensure its protection and repopulate the planet with almost extinct species. The hero's attitude to the killer-beast knows ups and downs, like a sine curve.

The fighting hero had used all his skill and equipment to kill the monster, starting with arrows and sword up to projectiles with depleted uranium. Another well-known character from the Anglo-Saxon world has a common name – Steve –, wears shorts and hobnailed boots, bears a stick or a net (like Roman gladiators), or is even bare-handed. He catches the monster which puts up resistance, since it feels attacked and the information stored in its ancestral memory is aggression and not love. It does not know that the man loves wild animals and will bring it to a place with optimum living conditions. The animal is to be sacrificed only if it is too ill and may endanger others. Steve's image makes us think that man has eventually turned into the master of the biological world in the planet; he is a kind of god, creator and granter of good and justice. To acquire power, his ancestors, the knights, had to kill several generations of monstrous prey foes. Even today, if you are not Steve, the hero of *Discovery* or *Animal planet*, you should be well armed, when entering the prohibited realm of the master-beast. Which is the educational role of this filmed epic (with a great many episodes)? I think that it is not only meant to provide didactic information and to arouse love for the surrounding nature. There is something more, a kind of deep-going commandment in the heroic epos – to educate fear. Nobody knows whether Steve is afraid or not. He is a fine performer, acting aloof the confrontation between man and beast, smiling, praising his opponent, looking at it with tolerance and sometimes with respect. The epos hero is always frowning; even if he revels in a pub, surrounded by relatives and friends or by foes, he is gloomy and dark-looking. To kill a monster, one should be "loaded" with aggressiveness and strength. To save it, one should understand it. There are two ways of educating one's fear. One is centered on self-defence – man is a frail being who has to contrive murderous weapons to face the enemy's assets. The other emphasizes the higher understanding of a master who may grant life or death and may decide within an institutionalized system. He is the representative of the human civil institution which decides what is to be protected in nature and what not. He does it because he is afraid that his dominion over nature may destroy it, since his ancestor was the armed

fighting knight, that gave death We shall not deal with the education of fight in TV viewers, who learn how to look at the dangerous enemy and how to behave before making the decision of killing it. The modern hero of the audio-visual productions related with a new psychological attitude tries to find the reason of his actions but more like an individual who has to be persuaded that the social rules are correct.

Well, is Steve, the hero, afraid of something? We don't know. We are not aware whether he dissembles his feelings too well, or employs excellent trick pictures, or is a genuine armless knight hero, generous and full of love for his foe. No matter which is true, he is an example. And the status assigned to him makes him a tragic hero, whose end is not yet known.

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NATIONAL MANIFESTATION OF FOLK BALLADS

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TRADITIONAL AFRIKAANS BALLADS IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

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Abstract: The origin of many traditional Afrikaans ballads can be traced to Medieval German and Dutch songs. They arrived at the Cape from the Netherlands and were gradually adapted. Towards the end of the 19th century a number of these ballads appeared for the first time in printed form. However, the majority of traditional Afrikaans ballads originated locally and represent the typical cultural milieu of Afrikaans speaking people.

The three examples used in this article are all traditional ballads which originated in South Africa. The first short ballad tells a love story, the second one gives a humorous account of a wedding in the countryside and the third ballad originated in the Anglo-Boer War and relates the incident of the capture of a British naval canon by the Boers. The importance of these ballads in today's society is, on the one hand, reflected by re-utilisation, especially for entertainment purposes and, on the other hand, by the application for the purposes of studying historical events which are of current importance.

Keywords: Afrikaans milieu, ballads in wedding, actual events in folklore

INTRODUCTION

Although the origin of some traditional Afrikaans ballads can be traced to Medieval German and Dutch songs (DU TOIT 1924: 211–219; GROBBELAAR 1978: 50), one of the most important facts about Afrikaans ballads to remember is that they are not nearly as ancient as European ballads. The majority of traditional Afrikaans ballads originated locally and dates from the last half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century (GROBBELAAR 1978: 56, 58, 124). Their content reflects the typical cultural milieu of Afrikaans speaking people of those times, and can therefore not actually be compared to ancient European ballads. The themes also differ considerably, because they originated in an era in which technology was much more developed than in Medieval times.

The very interesting phenomenon of ballads inherited from Europe is of course the way in which they were gradually adapted – as Du Toit puts it: they not only adapt to the new environment and language, but change as it were in flesh and blood, so that they become in fact "neutralised foreigners" (1924: 236). Some of the most well known examples that changed from German or Dutch to Afrikaans, are *De drie ruitertjes, Het waren twee konings kindren* and *Groenlands straatjies.*

The examples used in this article are, however, all traditional ballads which originated in South Africa. A definition of the ballad that I quite like, is the one of Frank Sidgwick, which says: the ballad is in the first place a narrative, it sets out to tell a story as shortly and economically as it can. The first lines waste no time in get-

ting to business; as it starts without preface, so it ends without epilogue (SIDGWICK 1928: 8–9). All ballads will of course not fit exactly into this description, but fortunately there are also other views on and definitions of ballads.

SIGNIFICANCE

The importance of these ballads in today's society is, on the one hand, reflected by re-utilisation, especially for entertainment purposes and, on the other hand, by the application for the purposes of studying traditional cultural history and historical events which are of current importance. In some cases the content can also be compared to contemporary lyrics, especially of love songs, with significant conclusions.

The significance of Afrikaans ballads can be discussed in many ways. It can be generalised by referring to as many ballads as possible, or the discussion can be focussed on specific examples. I chose to concentrate on three examples.

GEBRANDE BRIEFIE (*LITTLE BURNT LETTER*) (SEE ADDENDUM A)

This ballad was discovered during an oral history/fieldwork project in the late 1980's. It was in the countryside of the Southern Cape (part of the Western Cape Province of South Africa) near the beautiful town of George, which is situated between the Outeniqua Mountains and the Indian Ocean. It was sung by Gert Platjies, a coloured male informant, who accompanied himself on a guitar. At that stage it was known only colloquially and was taped as part of the research project on Afrikaans folk songs. Afterwards the words as well as the music were transcribed.

The words of the ballad reflect the very deep feelings of the lover who is about to leave his darling behind when he departs by train. The ballad focuses on this single incident, brings it into sharp focus and moves quickly to the end, which is a glance into the future. With this form and content the ballad complies with the typical characteristics of a ballad, according to Funk & Wagnall's definition (LEACH 1972: 106–107).

The first line, consisting of only two words, *gebrande briefie* (burnt letter), was chosen for the effect of rhyme, while the more important line is the second, *my hart se liefie,* which refers to his sweetheart, literally *my heart's darling.* The *-ie* suffix in Afrikaans forms the diminutive. It is of course possible to analyse the first two words further and maybe conclude that it refers to a loveletter which was burnt by her, and that that is the reason why he is leaving. It will remain a matter of speculation, though. He then invites his sweetheart to come and greet him, because the train will be leaving soon. He compares a kiss from his sweetheart with the sweetness of a dew drop and promises never to forget her. The last scene, depicted by the last four lines, refers to the day that the horse of iron and steel (the train), will come to fetch her.

It is probable that the scene depicted by this ballad reflects the farewell of a young man leaving the countryside to seek a livelihood in the city, most probably in the mines of the Witwatersrand area. Although exact dating is not possible, it probably originated in the early 20th century, when the devastating effects of the Anglo–Boer War drove thousands of farmers, especially the youth, to the cities.

The significance of this ballad in contemporary society is twofold: Firstly, being a love song, the meaning of the text, when compared to contemporary love songs or lyrics, confirms the fact that love is unchangeable (referring to love as a concept and not an individual's love). The simplicity of form and choice of words of the ballad expresses on the one hand the folk person's often simple outlook on life and love, but on the other hand it serves as a paradox to accentuate the complexity of love, which is more often experienced. This fact of life was valid through all ages, up till this day.

In the second place this ballad is being used as entertainment for today's audiences. The music has recently been arranged in four parts for a children's choir, specifically for the world famous Tygerberg Children's Choir. They perform the ballad as part of a cycle of folk songs, arranged by Theresa Loock, and treat thousands of South Africans as well as audiences abroad. The song is also on their latest CD. Figuratively speaking, it therefore also acts as ambassador for the Afrikaans language and culture. Through this process an old ballad has been made useful in today's society and offers not only a glance on a courting scene of more or less a hundred years ago, but also offers immense pleasure for today's lover of folk and choir music.

OP HARTEBEESFONTEIN (*AT HARTEBEESFONTEIN*) [THE NAME OF A FARM] (SEE ADDENDUM B)

This delightful ballad relates the events at the wedding festival of a young couple at the farm Hartebeesfontein, probably in the late 19th century. It is quite a long ballad, compared to most other Afrikaans ballads; it comprises of 52 stanzas, each containing three lines. Each short stanza ends with the phrase *op Hartebeesfontein.*

The gist of the story is the apparent infidelity of the bride, who prefers another young man's company for the dance to that of her new husband. The main activity of the wedding festival is the dance, which is described here as a most exciting and tiring exercise. Several traditional dances are named and the narrator focuses on the physical effort of the dancers and the jubilant atmosphere. At the height of the excitement, the candles were doused and every young man took his chance in the dark. When light was restored, the bride and her fancy were caught red handed while kissing fervently. The result was of course a big fight between the bridegroom and this other young man, whereafter last mentioned departed very rapidly.

Maybe some scholars will not consider this ballad exactly a folk product, because the name of the writer is known, even though it is a pseudonym. It is, however, not known how much schooling this poet has had. The form and content display typical

characteristics of the ballad, for instance the repetition of the phrase *op Hartebeesfontein,* which becomes a refrain. Funk & Wagnall calls this a secondary characteristic of the ballad (LEACH 1972: 107). If it was purely a folk ballad, this particular form might have been accepted as just that: a typical characteristic of the ballad and a good sounding refrain. However, Pfeiffer, a literary critic, regards this form as very significant. He says that on the surface it may seem like a humorous portrayal of a wedding festival on a farm. Considered more seriously, he interprets the monotonous repetition of the refrain *op Hartebeesfontein* as a desperate note resulting from confinement in the small and very remote world of farmlife and its entertainment revolving around itself (1965: 24).

Most literary critics call this ballad the most successful of Afrikaans poetry before 1900 and the usage of the very early form of Afrikaans is described as exceptional (KANNEMEYER 1978: 68; PFEIFFER 1965: 24). The great Afrikaans poet D. J. Opperman compared *Hartebeesfontein* to the well known Dutch poem *Boeren geselschap* by Bredero (KANNEMEYER 1978: 69).

The cultural historical information obtained by studying this ballad is of utmost interest and importance. It could be asked: What is the significance of cultural historical facts of this nature for today's society? The answer is of course that it has the same relevance as any other folklore gained in any other way, and that may differ from culture to culture. For any culture and language it is important to trace the origin of contemporary customs, words and expressions and to establish links between past and present. *Hartebeesfontein* refers to a "sheepskin" party, a typical country dance. Several traditional dances are mentioned, for example the waltz, reel, scottische, cotillion and the polka (stanzas 18 and 31), which were all traditional European dances, but were simplified to a great extent to become typical Afrikaans "boeredanse" (country dances). Along with the dances themselves, the names were also simplified and through folk etimology turned into Afrikaans names in which the original European words are scarcely recognisable, for example scottische became *satties* and cotillion became *kontiljons.*

In the ballad is also a reference to the type of floor in the farm building where the dance was held (stanza 17), typical of rural houses. The floor was made of a mixture of anthill, ox blood and cow dung. This floor was very smooth and ideal for dancing. In the same stanza the candle, usually homemade of animal fat and bees' wax, is mentioned.

Customs with regard to courting (32–34) and the wedding festival (whole ballad) are revealed. Nicknames, an exceptionally interesting field of study in Afrikaans, also emerge from the ballad. Musical instruments like the concertina (50) and even a fire-arm (sanna) (40) are mentioned.

This is not a complete analysis of the ballad, but only a cursory discussion which strives to point out that the abovementioned traditional customs form the background for contemporary Afrikaans culture. The information would not have been of great value or significance if it was not for the second way in which this ballad is used in contemporary society, namely for the purpose of entertainment. It is a very popular ballad to use as text for performing folk drama in concerts or other forms of

informal entertainment. In this way it brings back certain aspects of traditional way of life to a contemporary audience. It serves as an excellent source to teach the young people some of the roots of their own society.

DIE LADY ROBERTS (THE LADY ROBERTS – A LARGE BRITISH NAVAL CANON) (SEE ADDENDUM C)

Since 1999 historians and other people all over the world have displayed immense interest in the centenary of the Anglo–Boer War (1899–1902), which is currently being commemorated in South Africa. Every possible source is being searched and researched to reveal more and more information on this devastating war. South Africa is being invaded by "centenary tourists" taking trips to battlefields, monuments and museums.

But apart from the terrible sadness, incomprehensibility and injustices of the war, this period of three years was also very fruitful for the creation of new folksongs, rhymes and ballads. The ballad of the Lady Roberts refers to the incident where general Ben Viljoen and his commando captured this 4.7 inch British naval canon at Helvetia in the Eastern Transvaal (PACKENHAM 1981: 514). The exuberance caused by this triumph which led to the creation of a song, can only be completely understood when all the facts concerning the imbalance between the British and the Boers with regard to men, artillery, equipment and provisions of all kinds, are known. Although the Boers succeeded in importing a number of canons before the start of the war, the state artillery was still a dwarf in comparison to European standards (PACKENHAM 1981: 44). It was also considered a great triumph to capture a canon and so to disgrace the enemy (GROBBELAAR 1999: 119). The Lady Roberts was named in honour of Lord Roberts, successor of Sir Redvers Buller as commanding officer of British forces in South Africa. The name was painted on the wagon of the canon (GROBBELAAR 1999: 119).

Grobbelaar calls this ballad one of the most popular songs of the Anglo–Boer War. It originated in January 1901, and within four months it was sung by all the commandoes (1999: 119). The ballad, also by a known writer, namely F. W. Reitz, nevertheless immediately became national property and was eventually sung by all and sundry. The tone throughout the ballad is that of very shrewd ridicule. The writer mocks the canon (*die ou vrou*, stanza 2) the *boslansers* (stanza 4, the cowardly boers who fled with their cattle to the Bushveld, instead of staying with the commando), but of course especially the British and specifically Lord Roberts. It tells the story of Robert's departure for England, because he was sure that the war was won (that was after the siege of Pretoria on 5 June 1900 (PACKENHAM 1981: 453–454), after which the war still continued for two years); how he left his "lady" behind, because she liked "mieliepap" (maize porridge, staple food of the Boers), and because he was sure that she was safe, stowed away in a fort. The ballad praises the commando of Boksburg, who also captured 235 men together with the canon and ammunition. It was a New Year's present for the president, because the battle took

place on 28 December 1900. Despite the fact that Roberts thought the Boers incapable, they were at that stage still irritating Lord Kitchener, Roberts' successor. True to the nature of a ballad, this song brings the incident of the capture into *sharp and economical focus* (LEACH 1972: 107) and results in a *gapped* narrative with references to several other role players on the British side of the war.

For contemporary South Africans with pro-Boer sentiments, who often think of the Anglo–Boer War solely as a tragedy, this ballad carries a message of lightheartedness, humour and shrewd perceptiveness. It gives some insight into the Boer's outlook on life, for it reveals his ability to mock himself and his leaders (stanza 2 and 4), but simultaneously to admire and honour his generals who led this specific battle. Although he was acutely aware of the superiority of the enemy with regard to numbers and equipment, he still betrayed a tenacity to keep going (and would have kept going, if it was not for the British policy of scourged earth). This attitude caused the Boers to end the war, although on the losing side, with great honour.

Apart from the significance that *The Lady Roberts* has for the ordinary South African today, there is also the important academic contribution. For the historian there are many references to the actual event as well as other elements of warfare, for instance the fact that the Boers predominantly relied on their "roers" (rifles) and were exceptionally good marksmen (stanza 8). There is also the reference to the guerilla tactics of the Boers (stanza 12) that caused the British leaders much irritation and despair. For the linguist and folklorist the ballad displays several colloquial expressions. A brilliant example is the pun on the name Kandahar (stanza 13), the place in Afghanistan where Lord Roberts achieved great military success before he came to South Africa. The name Kandahar was added as one of his titles (GROBBELAAR 1999: 119). The first two lines of the 14th stanza (*Lord Roberts van Kan-daar / is nie Roberts van Kan-hier*) contain the expression with the pun, as it transformed the name Kandahar to Kan-daar, (literally *to be able there*), which means that Lord Roberts was able to do something there (in Kandahar), but not to do something here (*Kan-hier,* literally *to be able here*).

The melody used for this ballad was that of the well known American song *Riding down from Bangor.* It is very interesting to note that the folklorist Pieter Grobbelaar recorded the song also sung with a waltz rhythm, from which fact he concludes that it was also used as a dance song. Sidgwick, in his discussion of the word *ballad,* stresses the fact that in its earliest form the word was connected to dance and that it was originally intended as accompaniment to a dance (SIDGWICK 1928: 1,4).

Although both *Hartebeesfontein* and *Die Lady Roberts* were distributed in printed form very early on (*Hartebeesfontein* in 1898 in the first Afrikaans journal *Ons Klijntji* (November 1898: 212–213) and *Die Lady Roberts* in N. MANSVELT's book *Hollands-Afrikaanse Liederbundel* in 1908 (pp. 29–32)), they were both at first passed on rather by way of mouth than through these publications. Grobbelaar recorded them from several people who sung them by heart.

CONCLUSION

From this very short overview and discussion it is evident that traditional Afrikaans ballads have great potential to contribute positively to today's society in many ways. It is important that they should be studied by folklorists and cultural historians and the results made known not only to academics but also to the general public. They belong to the folk, not in the past tense only, but definitely in the present. Today's society deserve to know their ancestors' stories and as they are today seldom passed on by word of mouth, the scholars should share the responsibility of making them known and indicating their value.

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ADDENDUM A

GEBRANDE BRIEFIE

Gebrande briefie
my hart se liefie
kom sê my reg
want die trein trek weg
'n druppel water
van die môredou
is net so goed
as'n soen van jou
'n soen van jou
sal ek nooit vergeet nie
want ek weet voorwaar
jy is my liefling
die bruinperd sal
op yster en staal
vir jou kom haal
jy is my liefling.
(BURDEN 1991: 263)

LITTLE BURNT LETTER

Little burnt letter
my heart's dearest love
come tell me you love me
for the train is leaving
a drop of water
of the morning dew
is just as good
as a kiss from you
a kiss from you
I shall never forget
for I know for sure
you're my true love yet
the chestnut steed
of iron and steel
will come to fetch you
you're my true love yet.
(translation by Greta Gericke)

ADDENDUM B

OP HARTEBEESFONTEIN

1. Was jy al ooit by 'n "sheepskin"-dans,
Byvoorbeeld daar by ou Stefaans
van Hartebeesfontein?

2. Want ek sal jou 'n grap vertel
van 'n verbroude apespel
op Hartebeesfontein.

3. Jors Vlek en ek en Rooi Waldek
Span boggie in een aand en trek
Na Hartebeesfontein.

13. Dis bruilofaand by ou Stefaans
en ieder man wat soek syn kans
op Hartebeesfontein.

15. Oom Faan se Fieta het getrou
met Dolfie, seun van Danie Louw,
op Hartebeesfontein.

AT HARTEBEESFONTEIN
(the name of a farm)

Have you ever been to a sheepskin dance
For instance at the farm of old Stefaans
of Hartebeesfontein?

Well I will tell you a good old joke
about what went wrong 'mongst the monkey-folk
at Hartebeesfontein.

Jors Vlek, Red Waldek and I
inspanned our buggy and took the road
to Hartebeesfontein.

(3–12: After we arrived and greeted our host and family we had to drink, and drink deeply to good friendship at Hartebeesfontein.)

It's the wedding of the daughter of old
Stefaans, so each and every had to take his chance
at Hartebeesfontein.

Fieta, the daughter, was married to Dolf,
the son of Danie Louw,
at Hartebeesfontein.

16. 'n Bietjie vet maar rats was sy,
verduiwels mooi ook nog daarby,
op Hartebeesfontein.

Slightly obese, but agile was she
and add to this, beautiful to a degree,
at Hartebeesfontein.

17. Die miershoopvloer was glad geskuur,
'n vetkers brand daar teun die muur
op Hartebeesfontein.

The polished anthill floor was smooth
against the wall a candle burnt
at Hartbeesfontein.

18. Klein Tjaart se Tjaart speul dat dit gons
wals, riel, satties en kontiljons
op Hartebeesfontein.

Tjaart, the son of Small Tjaart, played with gusto and at ease
cotillion, waltz, the reel and the settees
at Hartebeesfontein.

19. Ons dans toen dat die stof so staan:
Rooinip loop los voor in die baan
op Hartebeesfontein.

We danced till all was dust, indeed:
Rednip each time well in the lead
at Hartebeesfontein.

20. Een ding was daarom openbaar:
Fieta en hy boer bymekaar
op Hartebeesfontein.

One thing was therefore very clear
Rednip, with Fieta, always there
at Hartebeesfontein.

21. Dolfie sit in 'n hoek en kook,
hy het syn hart vol haat gestook
op Hartebeesfontein.

In a corner Dolfie waits
And in his heart, o how he hates...
at Hartebeesfontein.

(22–36: And so the dance continues with his bride hanging onto Rednip as the pace becomes more furious. At the height of the noise the candle is suddenly doused. The young girls scream and Dolfie yells for the boys to light the candle quickly... What a sight!! Rednip embracing Fieta and kissing her ardently.)

37. Die onweer het toen losgebars
dis tyd vir ons om weg te mars
van Hartebeesfontein.

A storm breaks loose...
'tis time for us to march away
from Hartebeesfontein.

38. Drie maal was Rooinip platgeslaan
drie maal het hy weer opgestaan
by Hartebeesfontein.

Three times Rednip was thrown aground
and three times got up and went around
at Hartebeesfontein.

39. Ek vlieg deur-uit, Rooinip loop voor
want Dolfie wou ons altwee moor
op Hartebeesfontein.

I shot outside, Rednip ahead
with murderous Dolfie just behind
at Hartebeesfontein.

40. Faan wou ons met 'n sanna skiet
maar drank die skud hom soos 'n riet
op Hartebeesfontein.

Stefaans with "sanna" tried to shoot
but drink, the evil, shook him to the boot
at Hartebeesfontein.

41. Jors skuiwe na die stal syn kant,
hy sien daar's onraad in die land
op Hartebeesfontein.

Jors, as fast as he was able
ran through the yard right to the stable
at Hartebeesfontein.

42. Toen ons voor uitbreek – regtig, man!
Daar staan die boggie ingespan
op Hartebeesfontein.

47. Jors skree net: "Kêrels, hou nou vas:
die duiwel sit op onse kwas!"
op Hartebeesfontein.

48. Die rieme waai, hy gryp die lat
hy slaan die ponies waternat
op Hartebeesfontein.

51. Voor jy kon sê "knipmes" was ons
ver weg van die takhaargegons
op Hartebeesfontein.

52. Toen môre kom, toen ry ons ver
en van dié dag af bly ons ver
van Hartebeesfontein.

When we broke out – o man, you're right
there was the buggie, all ready for flight
at Hartebeesfontein.

Jors let out a yell: "Guys, hold on fast
or the devil will get us and we won't last
at Hartebeesfontein.

He took the reins, he grabbed the lash
and whipped the ponies to a dash
at Hartebeesfontein.

Afore you as much as "jack knife" could say
We were far from the buzzing of dance and of play
at Hartebeesfontein.

When morning came we had driven far
and remain to this day so very far
from Hartebeesfontein.

Translation: Greta Gericke

ADDENDUM C

DIE "LADY ROBERTS"

1. Hier staat die "Lady Roberts",
Hoera! voor Ben Viljoen
Hoera! voor Gen'raal Muller
Want hul het dit gedoen.

2. Die trekboer en boslanser
Die kom haar hier beskouw,
Dan zeg hul: "Alle wereld!
Waar krij jul hier die vrouw?"

3. Dan zeg ons:"Die ou Lady
Is 'n Nieuwejaars present
Wat Ben Viljoen gestuur het
Aan onze President.

4 Dan wordt die trekboer wakker
En trek weer met zij goed
En die arme ou Boslanser
Die krij weer nieuwe moed.

5. Lord Roberts is al huis toe
Die veldheer het getrap
Maar d'ou vrouw het hij hier laat blij
Sij hou van mieliepap.

THE LADY ROBERTS

Here is the Lady Roberts
Hurray! for Ben Viljoen
Hurray! for General Muller
By them it sure was done.

Bush lancer and the trekboer
Have come to see her here
They say: "O my, good heavens,
Where did you get this dame?"

Then we declare the lady
Is a grand New Years present
That Ben Viljoen has posted
To our great President.

So then the trekboer rises
And moves on along his track
And even poor Bush lancer
With courage bears his pack.

Lord Roberts has gone home now
The field marschall has flown
His poor old lady he's left behind
She likes our "mieliepap".

6. Van ons arme families
Brand hij die huise af
Die mans kan hij nie win nie
Dus moet hij vrouwens straf.

7. Maar s'n ou Lady Roberts
Die lyddiet uit kan stort
Die stuur hij na Helvetia
En zet haar in 'n fort.

8. Daar, dacht hij, is sij veilig
Want die "verditste" Boer
Leg net maar achter klippers
Met zij "verdatste" roer.

9. Hoera! voor die Boksburgers
Hoera! voor die Polies
Hoera! ook voor Johannesburg
En Kitchener is nou vies.

10. Eer dat hul weer kon natgooi
Het Boksburg al verjaar
Eer hij zij broek kon aankrij
Toe was die ding al klaar.

11. Hul vat sij ammunitie
En sij kanonne af
Vang honderde soldate
En trap ver Tommy kaf.

12. Dis maar "gorilla" oorlog
Zeg Meester Chamberlain
Maar als dit lang zoo voortgaat
Dan maal ons Tommy fijn.

13. Lord Roberts van Kandahar
Lord Kitchener van Karthoem
Lord Buller van Colenso
Die wordt so hoog geroem.

14. Maar, Roberts van "Kandaar"
Is nie Roberts van "Kanhier"
En dat tommy hier moet blijwe
Is nie enkel voor plesier.

15. Hij het die land oorwonne
En alles annexeer
Maar ons dappere Generale
Verslaan hom keer op keer.

16. Hou vol dan, Afrikaners
Die vijand moet hier weg
Hij mag ons nie overwin nie
Want onze zaak is reg.

The homes of all our families
He has burnt right to the ground
The men, he cannot beat them,
So he takes our women, bound.

But his old Lady Roberts
That pours out bad liddite
He sends back to Helvetia
To a fort right out of sight.

There, thinks he, she is very safe
Because the bloody Boer
Takes shelter behind some rocks
With his own bloody "roer".

Hurray for the men from Boksburg
Hurray for the Police
Hurray for old Johannesburg
Kitch'ner's rage shows no decrease.

Boksburg victory was assured
'ere British troups could shoot anon
Before their pants were pulled right up
Their naval canon was gone.

The Boers they took the ammunition
As well as canons strong
Caught hundreds of their soldiers
Leaving Tommies all along.

This is "gorilla" warfare
Says Master Chamberlain
But if it long continues
We'll crush the Tommies again.

Lord Roberts from Kandahar
Lord Kitchener from Karthoem
Lord Buller from Colenso
Their fame is so well known.

But, Roberts from "Kandaar"
Is not Roberts from "Kanhier"
That Tommy must remain here
Can surely not cause glee.

He conquere all that land
Annexed it as his own
But our courageous generals
They beat him till he was gone.

Keep going, Afrikaners
The enemy must take to flight
He may not stay to beat us
Our cause is just and right.

Translation: Greta Gericke

NATIONAL CHARACTER AND MOOD OF LITHUANIAN BALLADS

Modesta LIUGAITĖ

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Abstract: The Lithuanian "baladės" should be held to be narrative lyrics. Because of a strong lyrical trend in Lithuanian folk poetry, very often they seem to be cases between folksongs and folk-ballads.

An attempt to explain the untragic nature of part of Lithuanian ballad-sujets is done in the article. The cause could be not only the lyrical mood of folk singers or the lack of epic as well as dramatic traditions in Lithuanian singing folklore, but on the great part the answer may be found in the medium those foreign sujets got in. In the oldest strata of Lithuanian ballads the role of mythology is of great importance, the archaic conception of death and love.

It is the avoidance of rude cruelty in Lithuanian ballads that causes the absence of certain parts; the structure of sujet becomes obscure, and the inner logic of sujet is ruled out. Dramatical manner of performance is present only sometimes, but not always in Lithuanian ballads.

The expression of the individual; traditional occasions to perform ballads; some poetical artificies of Lithuanian ballads; suppositional meaning of some ballads motifs; the classification of Lithuanian ballads as well as their origin is also reviewed shortly in the article.

Keywords: Lithuanian, lyrical, motifs, Lent and Easter, origin, sujet, meaning

Lithuanian folk-ballads material has been investigated mainly by Prof. Jonas BALYS in USA. He worked through about 12000 printed and unprinted variants and compiled it into the catalogue of Lithuanian narrative folksongs.[1] Balys' purpose was to find out which types of narrative folksongs are familiar among Lithuanians, how many variants are known and whether they have been published or reserved in archives. Another purpose of the scholar was to place the types dealing with the same region of human life as close together as possible. He divided, therefore, the songs into several chapters which are the following:

A. Youth and Maiden (or love affairs) – 121 types and subtypes, or 35,5%. It is the leading theme.

B. Family – 35 types, or 10%.

C. Cruelty – 22 types, or 6%. Sujets about cruelty are not numerous, nearly all borrowed from abroad.

D. War – 42 types, or 15%.

[1] Lithuanian Narrative Folksongs: A Description of Types and a Bibliography. – A Treasury of Lithuanian Folklore IV, Washington, Draugas Press, 1954.

E. Historical – 13 types, or 3,5%. The historical songs are undeveloped and deal mostly with wars.

F. Magic – 17 types, or 5% narrative songs, mainly about transformations.

G. Dead – 17 types, or 5%, mainly of conversations with a dead beloved person, partly of magic character.

H. Mythological – 7 types, or 2%.

I. Fate – 15 types, or 4%.

J. Drowning – 23 types, or 6%.

K. Hunting – 7 types, or 2%.

L. Animals, Birds and Plants – 21 types, or 6%.

The originality of Lithuanian folk-ballads material is more clearly seen when compared with that of other nations.[2] According to Prof. Jonas BALYS, the most popular five ballad-types were borrowed from abroad and considerably reshaped. All of them are of a rather sentimental character. There is no cruelty, no overweening pride, and family life is the point around which everything of importance is centered. It is probably with good reason that the mood of Lithuanian folk-songs has been characterised by our folklorist Balys SRUOGA (1927) as "naturalistic romanticism".

In many cases Lithuanian ballads seem to be a case between folk-songs and folk-ballad. It is either because of unsuitable lyrical mood or loaned from folk-song types (especially wedding songs) motives which may be like the wholeness of ballad-sujet.

Prof. J. BALYS, after careful considerations, came to the conclusion that 106 types, or 31% of Lithuanian narrative songs have been borrowed from abroad. The rest, consisting of 234 types and subtypes, or 69%, remained as songs of "undetermined origin". He guessed only that the final result should be somewhat like this: about half of all narrative songs are of genuine origin, and about half are loan-songs from other nations.

The Lithuanians took over the ballads mostly from their Eastern and Southern neighbours, the Slavic peoples. The Teutonic or Germanic influence is very small and can be traced in a few cases only. The Slavic influences, however, have been much more evident. On the other hand, a loaning process must have operated in both ways, vice versa: since the Lithuanian state once included large areas with East Slavic population. Several Slavic principalities were included in the Lithuanian Empire not only temporarily for a few decades, but for several centuries; and the Lithuanians formed the ruling class there. (For instance, the principality of Minsk became part of the Lithuanian state in 1326 and was lost to Moscow in 1793, the one of Vitebsk was won in 1320, lost in 1772, Polozk won around 1307, lost in 1772, Mstislavl won in 1355, lost in 1772, Kiev reduced to varsalage in 1333, completely seized in 1362, lost to Poland in 1569; Chernigov was ruled from 1355 till 1503;

[2] A modest attempt to search parallels of Lithuanian-Hungarian ballad-sujets and motives was the author's Master's Thesis in Vilnius University, in 2001.

Rzhev, Briansk, and Novgorod-Severski and some others were under Lithuanian rule from 1355 to 1503. Moscow was besieged and captured by Lithuanian troops four times: in 1368, 1370, 1372 and 1610–1612.) There is not much point in assuming that the Lithuanians merely took tribute from the Slavs in gold, furs, songs and tales, in material and spiritual aspects, but the Slavs did not borrow anything from the Lithuanians. The exchange must have been mutual, although the extent, period and ratio of the exchange might have been different in any individual case and aspect.

The circumstances surrounding the creation and the performance of a narrative song probably were quite different and individual in any case.[3] It is typical, however, that the best narrative songs which have all the characteristic traits attributed to a "ballad", are called "songs of Lent" among the Dzūkai in Southern Lithuania. The melodies of such "Lent songs" are serious, mournful and monotonous, often sounding very primitive (sometimes like a recitative), but they have nothing in common with the religious hymns. They probably got the name "Lent songs" because of the serious and sad events related in them: war, unexpected accidents, and tragic deaths. By labelling them as "Lent songs" Dzūkai people, who are very fond of singing, wanted to make a clear distinction from the joyous and purely lyrical songs. In Lent, two generations ago, all joyous songs, dances and games were forbidden by the Church and tradition. The people, however, could not miss singing and amused themselves with such dusky and mournful songs. Other great occasions among Dzūkai to perform narrative songs are wedding and Easter. As to the latter, there were certain narrative folk-songs, used to be sung only at Easter by a group of young men to a girl, meanwhile expecting to get some Easter eggs as presents from her. For example, a very popular ballad-sujet *Lad's drowning because of Girl's Wreath* is connected with this "lalavimas" tradition.

> The wreath from the girl's head was blown into the river by the North wind. Three men came to water their horses. "Who will bring back my wreath, he will be my husband!" The youngest lad tried to get the wreath but he sank. Upon sinking he asked: "Do not tell my father that I sank for the girl's wreath; tell my father that it happened while watering the horses".

In contrast to the tragical sujet, people did not really seem to percieve the tragical character of the story; since the melodies of most of its variants are quite joyous (and then there is Easter as an occasion to perform it). How can we explain the great popularity of the song? Folk singers as well as their auditory do not really seem to be deeply interested in the concrete event of one's drowning. It looks there might be universal symbols hidden in it, which let them express very specific individual feelings. In the Lithuanian singing folk-poetry so-called watery scenes, watery topogra-

[3] Never was it mentioned that a narrative song was sung at a dance. Some melody of narrative songs, however, sound like a dance tune. And there is one case where the game song had a good deal of narrative plot (*Kotūris, Kotūrys*).

phy are very popular: drowning, passage, crossing the river or lake etc. According to text-folklorists' concordant view, great water (like: lake, river, sea, the Danube – which often can be found in Lithuanian singing folk-poetry – identified as not only a river, but also as a lake!) in some cases may have signified great love. Ancient folk singers may have been more convinced about this associative relation.

As to the individual, it is also worth mentioning that personal names are very rare in Lithuanian singing folklore (so there is no possibility for folksingers to quote a song otherwise that to recite its initial lines). In Lithuanian folktexts nameless youth, girl, family members, warriors, orphans appear. From this point of view, Lithuanian narrative folksongs may seem impersonal, but often they become personal in the way that singular first person tells the story. Even, when one sings of his own death. For instance, such is a very popular sujet of *The three mourning women as cuckoos*.

> I rode over a bridge, and fell from my steed. I lay for three weeks in the mud, and only my steed was with me, only the Sun and the Moon saw me there. One night there came from the woods three cuckoos, which were really three women. One cuckoo took its place at my feet, another at my side, and the third at my head. The cuckoos cried bitterly. The first was my bride, the second my sister, and the third my mother. I divided my property: manor for father, steed for brother, clothes for sister, and the lovely words for my mother. The bride accompanied the dead to the gate only, the sister half way, and the mother the whole way to the high hill. The mother wept for her son the rest of her life, the sister wept three years, and the girl wept merely from morning to noon, and after noon she sang and danced again, and looked for another lad.

It would be presentable to quote here one of the nicest Lithuanian folk narratives, which is identified also as a work-song by some scholars. It is quite typical, in the sense that nothing tragical or dramatic action takes place in it – it is a conversation by a maiden and a lad.

> At a cold spring, with clear water a young boy watered his brown steeds. A young girl came, like a white lily, and asked him: "Are the steeds yours?" "Mine, of course." "You must be careful and not fall into the cold spring." "No matter if I should fall there. My marten cap and golden rings will remain."
>
> At a cold spring, with clear water a young girl washed her fine linen. Came a young boy, like a white clover, and asked her: "Are the linen yours?" "Mine, of course." "You must be careful and not fall into the cold spring." "No matter if I should fall there. My silken scarfs and golden rings will remain."

As it has been already mentioned, the lyrical mood of Lithuanian folk singers does not like cruel ballads, which generally have not enjoyed great popularity (few variants recorded). They are often reshaped, too. It is the avoidance of rude cruelty in Lithuanian ballads that causes the absence of certain parts; the structure of sujet becomes obscure, and finally the inner logic of sujet is ruled out. (It seems, this did not bother folksingers!) Instead of logic in the sense of its contemporary meaning, Lithuanian singing folklore preferred a kind of balance between cruelty and consolation, given by song. Such balancing elements may be, for instance, a lament in the end of the ballad, stylistic means such as the abundance of diminutives and pleasing words, certain narrative details, omissions; and sometimes the unexpected change of sujet, turning to happy ending. Dramatical manner of performance only sometimes, but not always is present in Lithuanian ballads. It is not rare that ballads of foreign origin with tragical content became the ones of humorous character among Lithuanians. Neither the melody, nor the rhythm, or the manner of performance suggest the shocking character of the story. Such narrative songs relate a tragic event only in a formal way, but they are considered as "joyous ballads" by the singing community.

So, the end of a number of Lithuanian ballad-sujet seem to be fairly untragic and unpainful. Drowning because of girl's wreath not in all cases means real death. In Lithuanian folk-songs it sometimes means ritual change of status, i.e. marriage. The drowning lad asks the girl to bury him in her rue-garden – this probably does not signal death, but the union with the girl. But in many variants the meaning of this motif is found to be changed already to that of death. In Lithuanian folklore there can be sporadically found such a change of sujet that when fished out a lad (or girl) turns to life. Also among Lithuanian ballads of drowning there are many in connection with magic transformations and beliefs.

> A girl wants to go after her lover and to see his manor house, and he says that it is in the bottom of sea (or lake). The girl goes to search it and drowns. She becomes a fish, but she is caught by fishers and turns back into girl. The mother of the fishers sees she is a very extraordinary girl, and the youngest son marries her.

Another example could serve to illustrate the reserved character of folk-ballad. It is about a sister visiting her dead brother and then mourning without even mentioning he is dead.

> A sister went for water and slipped from a small bridge into the river (sea) and found on the bottom her brother, tending God's horses and winding silken (golden) shackles. The sister invited him to go home. The brother ordered her to go home first and gave her a silken kerchief asking her to wash it with tears, to dry with sighs, and to press with her elbows. The sister did as ordered, but the brother did not come home.

Death events, paradoxically, are not always tragically depicted, but a married girl's longing after her father's home is tragical. It is impossible to come back, the young bride is nearly held to be dead by her brothers and sisters. Return to folks without being recognized is related in the most popular Lithuanian sujet spread both as ballad type (*Visiting Relatives in Shape of a Bird*) and as a wedding song type.

> A maiden got married far away in a foreign country. She was longing after her parents and family. The third year she transformed into a duck (fish), and swam over the sea, then she flew as a cuckoo over the woods and finally reached her parents' garden. The older brothers did not recognize her, and wanted to shoot the cuckoo, but the youngest brother stopped them: "It is probably our sister". The mother came out and said: "If you are my daughter, come into the room, if you are the woods' bird, fly back to the woods".

Another well-known case of ballad's transformation to a wedding song is the widely spread type of *Bride Stolen*.

> Early in the morning the mother found the door of the store house open, and the daughter was stolen. She awakened her sons and sent them to run after the thieves. They found the tracks, rode a long way, and finally discovered their sister in a big manor. "Sister, we will redeem you". It is too late, brothers. You should have come yesterday evening, when I was a young girl, for today I am already the Tartar's bride."

Some scholars share the view that the ballad goes back to former eras when the brides were occasionally robbed by foreign adventurers, by Cossacs, Tartars and so on. Also if it had been so, after some time, the tradition bound this ballad to wedding songs, the one which expresses that any kind of a marriage is the same as the abduction of a girl from her home.

In Lithuanian ballads much attention is paid to hunting and to the world of animals and plants. It is worth mentioning here, the parallelism which is quite well developed in Lithuanian singing folklore. It served as a background for many other poetical devices: metaphor, hyperbole, and symbolism, and in some cases it became the basis of song composition. An instance for this operation is the case when the narrative folk-song presents, parallel in its structure, the confrontation of the different activities of two different persons: maiden and lad, the mother and the mother-in-law, the father and the father-in-law, or a person's comparison of his former situation with his present one. But in most cases, something from the inanimate nature, from the world of plants and animals is compared with human beings, in respect to their mood and situation. The highest development of parallelism occurs, when the first part of the song is confronted with the second part of the same song. The existing folk-songs made up of even 30–40 stanzas, but in some cases, after a

time, only one section survived. Such are the hunting songs. According to some scholars, in an archaic way of thinking hunting meant lad's search after a girl, after his companion for a lifetime.

An important conclusion may be drawn about the untragic nature of part of Lithuanian ballad-sujets. The cause could be not only the lyrical mood of folk-singers or the lack of epic as well as dramatic traditions in Lithuanian folklore, but on the great part the answer may be found in the medium those foreign sujets got in. One important dimension must be marked while investigating Lithuanian ballads: in the oldest strata of ballads the role of mythology is of great importance, the archaic conception of death and love.

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COMPARISON OF ERZINCAN CENTRAL TOWN BALLADS TO IDIL–URAL "TATARISTAN–BASKURDISTAN-CUVASISTAN" REGION

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Abstract: As we study the pentatonic characteristics in the melodies of ballads of different cultures we may encounter some similarities in the melodies of Idil–Ural and Erzincan Central Town ballads of which people share a common background in the past. Some ballads from Erzincan region are similar from the view of pentatonic form to Idil–Ural region. But, we can notice that there are differences in the pentatonic scale of the two regions.

Keyword: ballads, pentatonicism, melodies

Erzincan has been one of the oldest settlements and trade centers throughout history. The area called Idil–Ural located in the Russian Federation is an old Turkic state. The region includes three Turkic Republics "Tataristan–Baskurdistan–Cuvasistan".

Various scientific researches concerning Idil–Ural were carried out, but unfortunately there is no major scientific research concerning music in the Turkic Republics. Pentatonic music is based on a five-note scale that contains no semi-tones. It is found in Anatolian folk songs, Hungarian and Romanian folk music.

The first written information on the pentatonic scale can be found in the Music Encyclopaedia of Maurice Curan Leviniac in which he referred to the research of Mahmut Ragýp Gazimihal. Laviniac also referred to the old Chinese sources for this information in this article. In addition, Turkish researchers and musicologists such as Ahmet Adnan Saygun, Ferruh Arsunar, Senel Onaldi and the western researcher Edward Chavannes, Hungarian researcher Béla Bartók, Hungarian musicologist Bence Szabolcsi have found pentatonicism in Turkish music repertory. The widespread influence of Turkish pentatonicism is stressed by musicologists and their research from the Idil–Ural region to Hungary. Wolfram Eberhard, the German born Chinese historian also confirms this hypothesis in his work, The Chinese History. He discusses the origin of pentatonicism and elaborates it in two points. Pentatonicism goes back to early ages and is of Asian origin, nevertheless there is no clue as to where in Asia pentatonicism comes from. Today, the pentatonic structure of Turkish music also confirms that the motherland of pentatonicism is Central Asia.

Pentatonicism is an important issue from the point of Turkish music history. Mahmut Ragip Gazimihal claims that pentatonicism belongs to the contemporary Turkish world. But some musicologists do not accept this idea. We know that penta-

tonicism exists even among the Japanese, Scottish, Tuvarek and East Coast Native Americans. Some philosophers claimed that pentatonicism expanded by means of past migrations and were used by mankind in the early stages of human development. All these prove that pentatonicism may exist anywhere in the world.

The main concern of these researchers was to study different pentatonic styles and determine which one could be the Ural–Altai type. The Hungarians discovered one of the pentatonic types. Béla Bartók mentioned that the same type was common in Anatolia, based on the researches made in Adana. The style that is common with the Anatolian Turks is the fundamental form, which descends from high to low pitches forming a complete minor scale. This was also confirmed by Mahmut Ragip Gazimihal's and Ferruh Arsunar's researches carried out in Elazg. A few notes, which do not fit to this theory, can be seen in Arsunar's real pentatonic folk songs. We can find all of these sounds on Turkish musical instruments.

These writers discuss the underlying structure of pentatonicism. The same structure is present in a hidden form in Asian Music. Arsunar's samples demonstrate this point. Huseyni, that is a makam (mode) that has its own repertory. Features of this makam can be listed as its "zemin, meyan and karar", and its ambitus is based on a pentatonic structure.

Researches concerning the existence of pentatonicism in Turkish folk music began in 1936 in our country with Mahmut Ragýp Gazimihal, Ferruh Arsunar and Ahmet Adnan Saygun. This topic was also discussed in the writings of Ahmet Adnan Saygun's " Turk Halk Musikisinde Pentatonism", Mahmut Ragip Gazimihal's "Turk Halk Muziklerinin Kokeni Meselesi, Turk Halk Muziklerinin Tonal Hususiyetleri Meselesi" and Ferruh Arsunar's "Anadolunun Pentatonik Melodileri Hakkýnda Birkac Not".

In these works and in the research conducted by these writers indicated above, the pentatonic character of Turkish melodies was confirmed and thus provided the basis for research to follow. However, research of this subject has not been pursued subsequent to the above mentioned works.

Folk songs with pentatonic characteristics were found in Tunceli-Pertek, Erzurum, Elazýg, Kutahya, Canakkale, Rize, Trabzon, Erzincan-Egin and Balýkesir regions. The sum of these constitutes a completely different style from others. If we had a few pentatonic samples we would have thought this to be an exception.

The number of the pentatonic songs proves the link to Asian musical culture. The pentatonic found in the repertory of Kazan and Siberian Turks confirms that they share a common Asian culture. In Hungarian music, pentatonic scales have a descending character. From this point of view the connection between Asian-Anatolian and European pentatonicism is important for Turkish music history.

In this thesis I searched for Turkish folk songs from Turkey, Idil–Ural, and the "Tataristan–Baskurdistan–Cuvasistan" regions. The songs of Erzincan-Center district are compared from the perspective of history, art and science. Until now, this subject has been researched in literature and language studies, but not within a musical framework. I have prepared this thesis for this reason to contribute to musical studies and reinstate lost cultural values of the Turkish world.

In our research, we find the pentatonic scale as (1+1+1 ½+1+1+1 ½) and (1 ½+1+1+1 ½+1) formulas. Although it may be possible to create a five-note scale by removing two notes from a heptatonic scale, this does not constitute a true pentatonic scale. It is better to define pentatonicism as a five-note scale that contains no semi-tones.

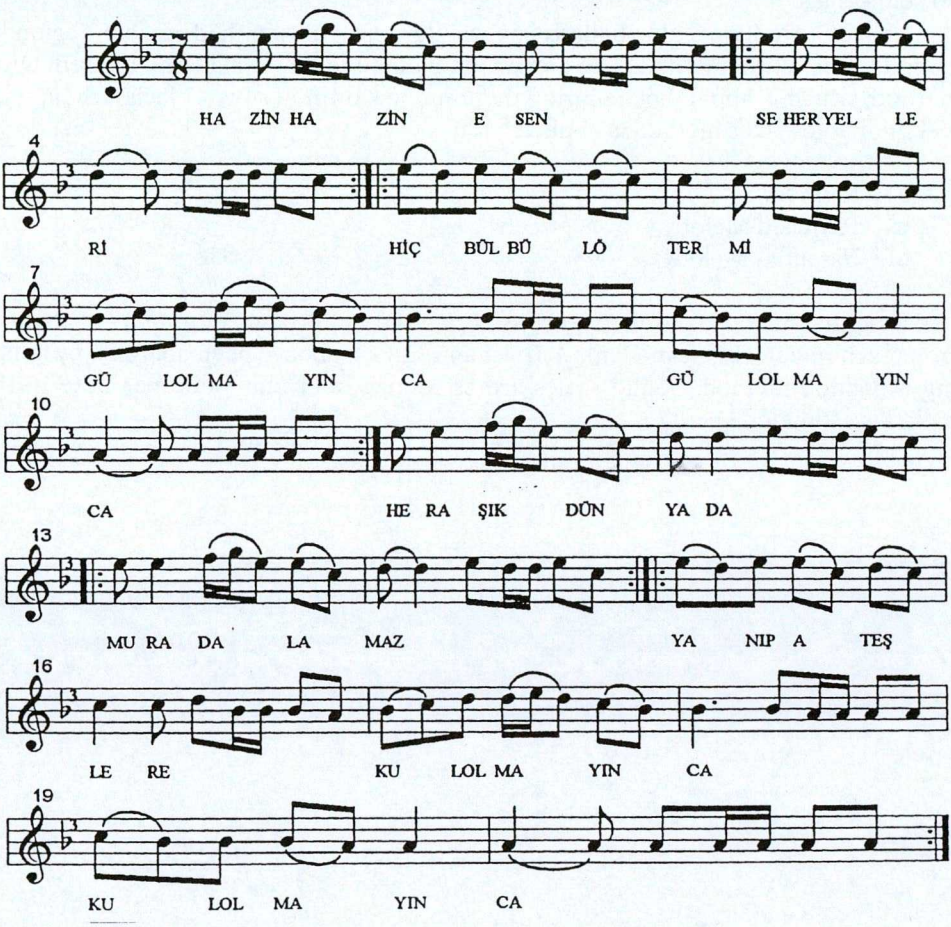
I have proved that some ballads have pentatonic scales in the Erzincan region by using the reduction method. The analysis of ballad melody is made by the reduction method, which is applied by ignoring the unimportant notes by replacing them with essential notes. This method is applied with:

a) Melody,
b) Reduced Melody,
c) Essential Melody.

Essential melody is formed by considering the importance of notes. Two ballads from each region Erzincan-Central Town and Idil–Ural have been analysed by applying reduction method. Sound scales are as follows, and unit value per note in the ballad is estimated $^{1}/_{16}$ (ξ).

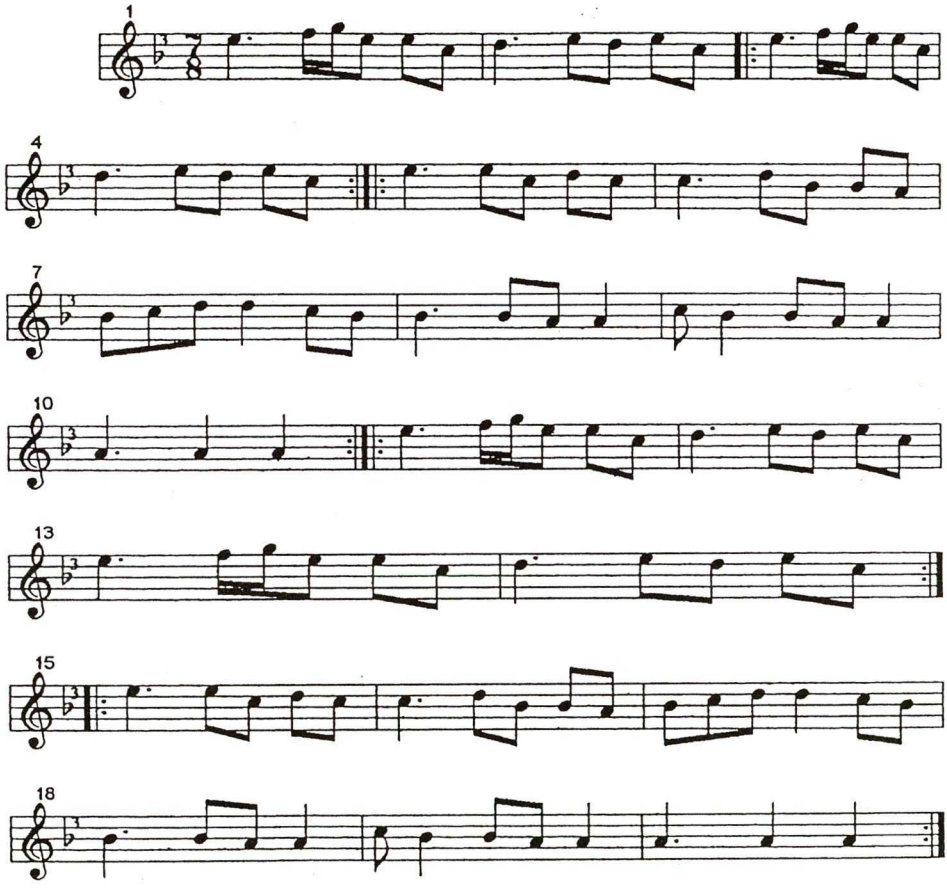
HAZİN HAZİN ESEN SEHER YELLERİ

Erzincan-Central Town



Melody Analysis

b) Reduced Melody



LÂ = 56

Mİ = 72

RE = 50

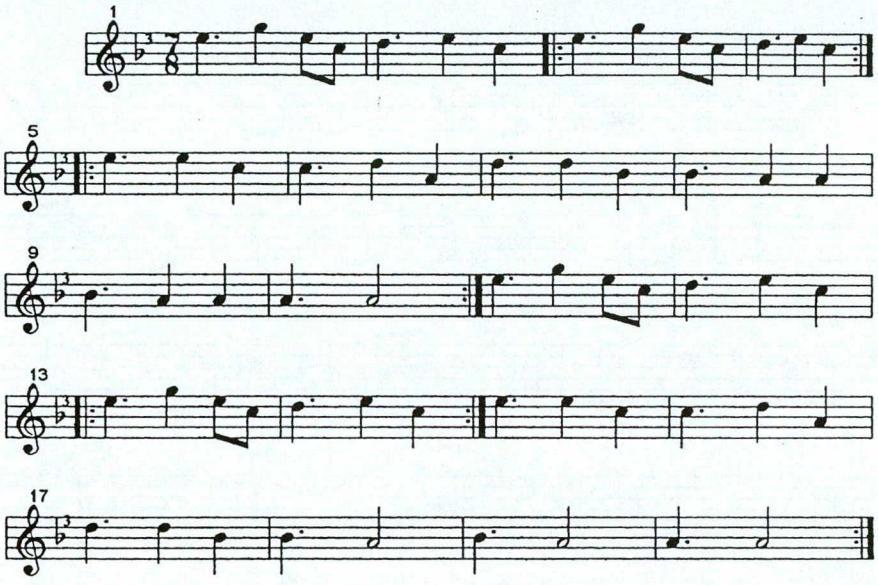
DO = 46

Sib[3] = 44

SOL = 4

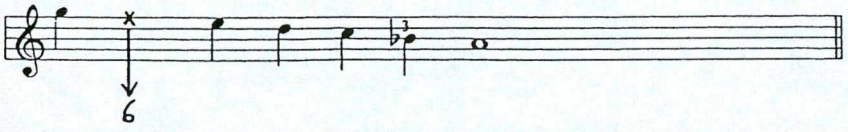
FA = 4

c) Essential Melody



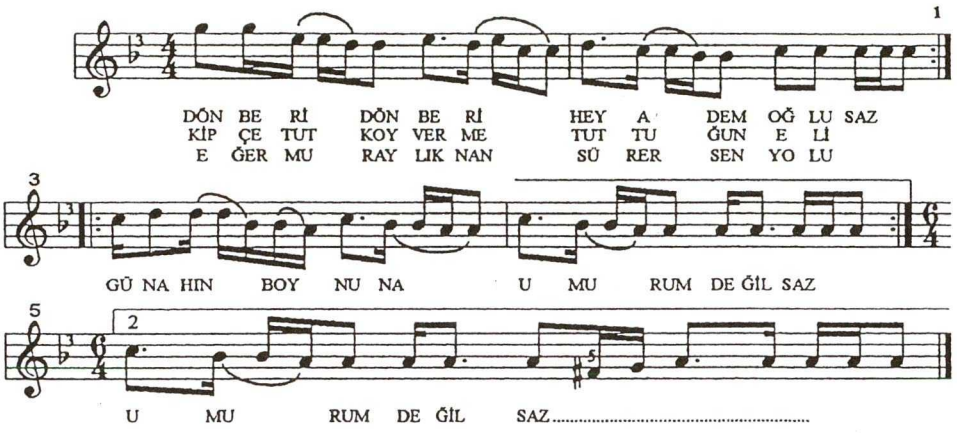
LÂ = 74
Mİ = 68
RE = 52
DO = 44
Sib^{3} = 32
SOL = 4

Hazin Hazin Esen Seher Yelleri Sound Scale 6. degree missing Half pentatonic



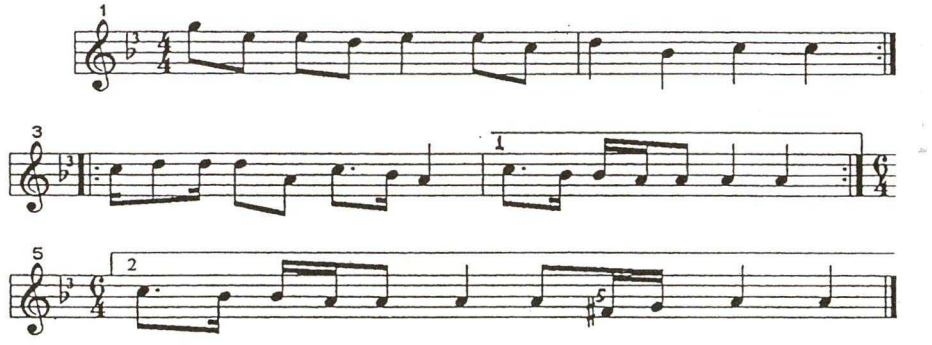
DÖN BERİ DÖN BERİ HEY ADEM OĞLU

Erzincan-Central Town



Melody Analysis

b) Reduced Melody



LÂ = 30

DO = 20

Mİ = 10

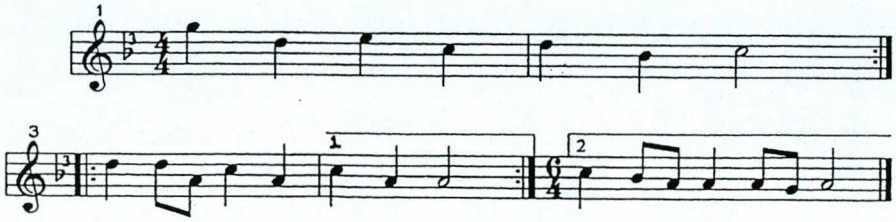
RE = 9

Sib[3] = 9

SOL = 4

FA#[5] = 1

c) Essential Melody

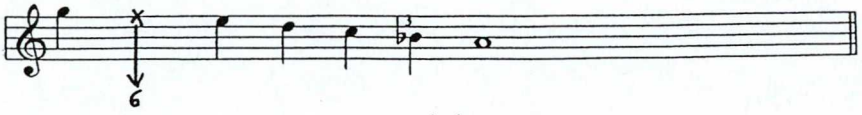


LÂ = 32 Sib^3 = 6

DO = 24 SOL = 6

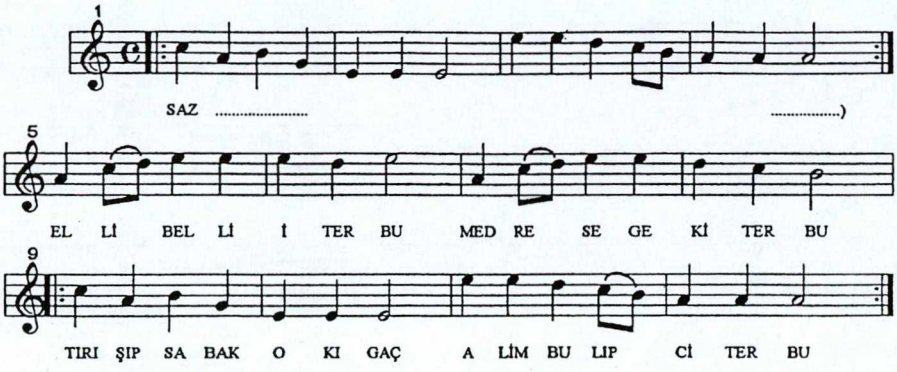
RE = 16 Mİ = 4

Dön Beri Hey Ademoğlu Sound Scale 6. degree missing Half pentatonic

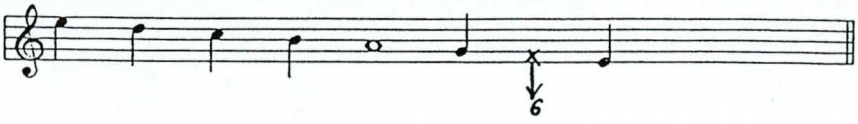


BİŞİK CIRI

İdil-Ural Region

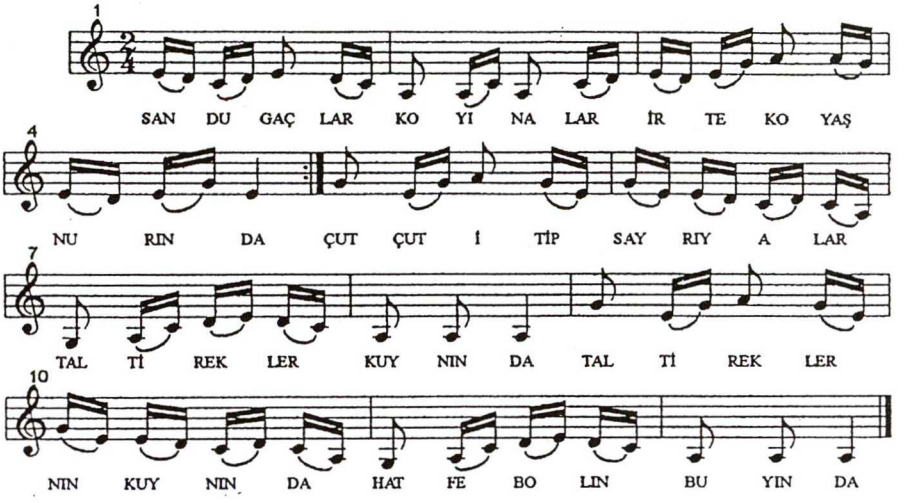


Bişik Cırı Sound Scale 6.degree missing Half pentatonic

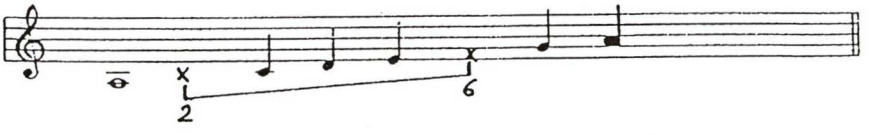


İRTE

İdil-Ural Region



İrte Sound Scale (2.-6.) degrees missing Pentatonic



THE COLLECTION OF TURKISH FOLK MUSIC AND ITS CURRENT SITUATION

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Abstract: The article gives a picture of the folk music life in Turkey. Turkish folk music has undergone drastic change because of the social and cultural development. The country is entering a specially rapid process of industrialization. The expansion of technology, industry and consumer economy enhanced globalization in Turkey. The worldwide uniformity is due to the interaction of economic and cultural phenomena. The source of folk music has not been extinguished, rather people have formed a new kind of music depending on the changing cultural, social and economic conditions.

Keywords: folklorism, popular music, Turkish folk music

Turkish folk music is defined as a music which is the common creative power of the people and which can express by simple but sincere melodies, the feelings, thoughts, joys, sorrows, deeds, bravery, love, homesickness and public events of everyday life without any claim for art. Folk music is of two kinds; with words and without words. Melodies with words constitute the majority. Melodies without words are dance music. Thousands of songs without any known composer have survived until today by word of mouth. It is not known when and where Turkish folk music appeared, although there are some exceptions. Most of them, the dates of which are known, are songs and melodies associated with folk singers using their instruments and with historical events.

When we go back to the origins of the minstrels, (folk music singer, playing instruments), we find that they were the public singers who sang to the accompaniment of their instruments with the role of social counsellor seeking a solution for the common feelings of society in the Turkish populations living in Horasan in Central Asia in the 5th century before the Islamic belief. They were called Kam among the Altai Turks, Baksı among the Kırgız Turks, Shaman among the Yakut Turks and Ozan among the Oğuz Turks (HOŞSU 1997: 9). The Turks who immigrated to Anatolia brought their culture and their music which was a part of it. Folk music produced a synthesis in Seljuk and Ottoman civilisations together with the Lydian, Phrygian, Hittite, Hellenistic, Byzantine and Turkish civilizations which were present in Anatolia where the important civilisations existed, forming a rich musical component and resulting in the contemporary Turkish folk music.

Minstrels (folk singers) had an important role in the survival of this music for centuries. Although Turkish folk music which was taught by the master to the ap-

prentice and was learned mostly by word of mouth changed its form, it still maintained its presence. When we look for written examples on this subject, the "deyişler" and songs are the products which shed a light on the periods when these folk singers lived and which were about historical events, the bravery of the people and other social events narrated under their "Mahlas" pseudonyms. Although these works existed in an oral tradition, they appeard in such documents as *"cönk"*[1], *"sığırdili"*[2], *"supara"*[3], *"tezkire"*[4], *"tarih"*[5], *"divan"*[6], *"güfte antolojisi"*[7], *"seyahatname"*[8], *"surname"*[9], *mecmua"*[10], *"mektup"*[11], *"mesnevi*[12]" written during the last three centuries of the Ottoman Period.

The most productive sources of folk music in the Ottoman period are seen in the art of the *minstrels*. The tradition of *minstrels* which occupied an important place in Turkish culture, gives us some information about the times of certain works. The tradition of minstrels which existed before the period of the Ottoman State, has survived to the present time. The word "Aşıklık" sometimes means the minstrel, the one who plays and sings at the same time. "This is a tradition and in that of the minstrel tradition, as in the poem reciting, the master's work becomes dominant. The minstrels perform either their own poems or those of ancient minstrels by placing them into the already existing song form. An apprentice who is devoted to a master learns not only to sing but also the refinement of writing the words with the melody" (ŞENEL 1991: 553).

Historical sources suggest that the art of being a minstrel was practiced not only among the people, but also in the mansions of gentlemen (beys), generals (pachas) and the distinguished intellectual class of the state and even in the palaces (courts) before the sultan (the ruler). "The fact that Murad IV liked Turkish folk literature and even composed some folk songs with the syllable meter for Musa Çelebi has been found in the historical sources" (KÖPRÜLÜ 1989:177).

The representatives of the art of minstrels who are now gradually decreasing in numbers were found in every part of the Ottoman Empire as an important occupational group until the beginning of the 20th century and even after the Tanzimat Period. Köprülü who has done research on minstrels in the period of the Ottoman State has studied tens of those minstrels during the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th centu-

[1] A leather-bound book, opening longitudinally, in which minstrels collected their own poems and those of others.

[2] A book opening longitudinally where minstrels wrote their poems.

[3] The general term given to school books in the Ottoman Empire.

[4] The work in which there are some information about the lives and songs of the poets.

[5] The date.

[6] The work in which the poets of Divan literature collected their poems.

[7] An anthology in which the written texts of musical works are found.

[8] Travelogue, Book of travel.

[9] The works that describe the weddings of Sultans and their children.

[10] Journal.

[11] A mailed letter.

[12] 1. A form of poem in the Divan literature with different rhymes for every double line. 2. General term given to this kind of work.

ries one by one (KÖPRÜLÜ 1989). Again in the same centuries the Ağıts (laments) sung by these minstrels were handled as a different subject of study (BALI 1997).

We know that some of the minstrels lived during the reign of *Sultan Mehmed* the Conqueror from the records in such sources as *Mecmua'ün Nezair* and *Cami'ün Nezair*. As it was documented in later periods, these sources provided some information about the art of minstrels of the *Mehmed* the Conqueror period with the statement that these minstrels probably played their instruments and sang songs during *Bayram* and *Ramadan* in the family and wedding gatherings in Istanbul and Anatolia (KARAHASANOĞLU 1999: 736).

The oldest work on music which is evidence of the art of minstrels in a written document is a deyiş (song) encountered in the travelogues (book of travels) of *Bartholomeus Georgievitz* who lived with Turks for 13 years after being taken prisoner by Turks in Hungary and died in 1560. *Bartholomeus Georgievitz,* in his "Memoirs" after noting that "the poets of the Turks were called Minstrels and their poems were constructed by lines with 11 syllables" gave some examples of quatrains. In a handwritten work composed by an anonymous Spanish person and dedicated to the *Spanish King Felipe* in 1557, the same quatrain was found as "*Poem and Song*". It has been suggested that the same song appearing in both works belonged to the period of *Kanuni Süleyman* (AKSOY 1994: 29).

In the monograph titled "Çöğür Şairi Armutlu" about Armutlu of 17th century minstrels some musical examples of his are mentioned from the manuscript of Ali Ufki titled "Mecmua-i Saz u Söz" (Collection of instruments and songs) (Ali Ufki 1976). It has been assumed that Ali Ufki of Polish origin who has an important place in the history of Turkish music entered the palace. (This date of entry to the palace may be between the years 1632–1639 and his date of leaving the palace may be between the years 1651–1657) (BEHAR 1990: 14). During this period, Ufki – besides many activities in the Sultan's Palace – wrote a lot of information about Turkish classical and folk music and transcribed many songs. There are examples of minstrel's music among these transcriptions.

Üngör, mentioning a document he found among the archives about Çöğüri Osman who lived during the reign of Mehmed IV (1685) and who was appointed as a music teacher for the girls in the Harem, has shed some light on the history. In the same work, there is a song prohibited by Sultan Murat (1623–1640) taken from the travelogue of Evliya Çelebi and also a song about the Naval Victory of Preveze (1538) (ÜNGÖR: unpublished work).

When we consider the examples of folk music, apart from the songs performed by minstrels, the oldest text of these songs which were found by Hamdi Hasan who conducted research on the manuscripts in libraries in Saraybosna, one of the most important Turkish settlement regions of the Ottoman period, and who published his findings in a book, was related to the "Sarajevo Disaster" occurring in 1697. Hamdi Hasan included a total of 372 songs in his book, which he had identified among the manuscripts (and papers) (HASAN 1987: 7). Moreover, we find song samples in the "Mustafa Ağa Güfte Mecmuası" dated 1732 (USLU: unpublished work). Folk music was also the origin of the Mehter music[13] during the Ottoman period. "In a record

which dated from the latest years of *Klasik Mehterhane* until the year 1826, it was found that folk music works such as *"Türkü"*[14], *"Ezgi"*[15] and *"Kalenderi"*[16] were included in its repertory (SANAL 1981: 8).

It is proper to mention here the Hungarian researcher Ignacz Kunos who collected and published texts of Turkish folk literature of the 1880s. Kunos collected hundreds of song texts and preserved them for the present day in written form (KUNOS 1998). When we study the words of the songs, we find examples that could be alive today although they were composed 400 years ago and recounted historical and social events of the Ottoman period. For example, the song about the Bagdat campaign by Genç Osman (ATİLGAN 1998: 5); the song of Murat Reis, which was about Turkish sailors sent to Indian Moslems to be of help during the reign of Sultan Süleyman; the song about the Cretan war between the years 1645–1669; the song about the Belgrade war which began in 1736 and lasted for years, and the song about the Plevne victory (ÖZTELLI 1972: 686–687). Besides such songs of bravery as Esztergom, Özü and Bender fortress, Sivastapol, Egypt and Genç Osman, the songs about the painful Yemen war which lasted for years and was lost eventually and the Algerian war have survived as a living witness of the events occurring centuries ago.

When compared with the folk studies around the world, it seems that Turkish folk studies began quite late. The consciousness of folk studies began to be formed at the beginning of the 20th century and the systematic studies of folk music have a history of only the last 80 years. In the beginning of the 1920s, Darülelhan, the only music school of the country, began collecting studies and they were carried out by music teachers using questionnaires. As a result of these activities, music teachers sent some 100 scores to Darülelhan and 85 of them were published. At the same time two foreign-educated musicians, the brothers Seyfettin Asaf and Mehmet Sezai were sent to Western Anatolia to collect and write down the scores of folk songs. Of these notes which were collected during these trips made on behalf of the Ministry of National Education, 76 were published in 1926. As a result of these trips, 161 songs were published but because voice recording devices were not used and records were made directly, the mistakes found in these notes become the subject of criticism.

After the experiment in Darülelhan which did not give good results, the idea of working with a phonograph arose. The day after the phonograph was brought to Istanbul from Europe, on 30th July 1926, the groups of musicians went on their first song collecting trip. Then trips were made four years in a row; 670 songs collected during these four excursions were published in 12 notebooks (printed). Musicologist M. Ragıp Gazimihal wrote two books related to these excursions. The fifth collecting

[13] A band charged with the duty of musical performance in the Ottoman Army of 1284–1826.
[14] Folk songs; special kinds of folk poems, they were taken into musical notes.
[15] A kind of Turkish folk poem. It is performed to a special melody.
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trip was made in 1932. Songs collected from the provincial artists were put in the archives of Darülelhan. These songs collected and published in the private collecting studies in the name of Darülelhan, met with great interest in this period and some of them were performed during Turkish classical music performances. Some young artists composed new works based on the folk music and they made the songs polyphonic (ŞENEL 1999: 110).

The invitation of the Hungarian composer Béla Bartók to Turkey was one of the most important events of the 1930s. The arrival of Bartók opened a new horizon for Turkish musicologists and caused important developments related to the country's music policies. The excitement of the first years of the Turkish Republic, "*Türk Tarih Tezi*"[17] and "*Güneş Dil Nazariyesi*"[18] all had their impacts on the invitation of Bartók to Turkey. Bartók held classes for Turkish musicologists and while participating in joint collecting studies, he wanted to contribute to the research on Hungarian history. Bartók eventually gathered the collection of songs and scores in a book (Bartók 1999).

Another important event in these years was the foundation of Ankara State Conservatory. The new conservatory arranged a first collecting trip in 1937. These trips continued for 17 years without interruption with groups in which there were individuals qualified in music and literature of the time. Around 9000 folk songs were collected during these trips. Some of them were written in musical notes and were filed but they came near to being destroyed because of the insufficient preserving conditions.

Another institution to be mentioned here was Turkish Radio Corporation. This corporation which was the official broadcasting organ of the state contributed widely to the studies of folk music. Besides broadcasting folk music programs, it contributed mostly to the collection, research and filing activities. In the archives of the Turkish Radio Corporation (called TRT), there were around 5000 songs written as musical sheets. It now has the most regular archive in the country.

Another institution which conducted research and collection work on folk music specimens was the General Directorate of Research and Promotion of Folk Culture (HAGEM) belonging to the Ministry of Culture. This HAGEM, founded in 1966, as a result of the first collecting trip made in the beginning of 1940, visited 57 provinces and added about 4000 songs and scores to its archives. This institution has begun its second round of collecting trips.

Apart from these leading institutions, Türkiyat Institute, Turkish Folk Science Association, Halkevleri (People's Houses), Folkloric Research Institution, Folk Club of Boğaziçi University, Turkish Folk Science Association of ODTÜ (Middle-East Technical University), and some private associations have rendered great services to our folk music.

[17] Turkish Historical Thesis.
[18] Language of the Sun Theory.

There are very valuable studies carried out by foreigners on Turkish folk music. Among many researchers we may mention the names of the following scholars who deserve an important place on this subject; Béla Bartók, Kurt and Ursula Reinhard, Laurence Picken, Walter Swets, Haruni Kosiba, İrene Markoff, Martin Stokes, Sipos Jason, Sonia Seeman.

However, all these studies carried out in the historically rich Anatolian land prove insufficient. Moreover, the materials gathered are not sufficiently evaluated. This is one side of the problem and the other side is that a rapid process of change has been experienced in our folk music during the last 50 years. The environment which created and sustained our folk music almost without any change during centuries, entered a rapid phase of change starting from the second half of the 20th century and eventually altered its form to the point of breaking away from its identity. There are many causes for this: Among them, we may point out the effect of communications media on the popular culture. While communications media prove useful as a means of reaching many individuals, they also become the cause for various cultures being influenced by each other and eventually becoming uniform. For example, a song from any part of Turkey written in musical notes and broadcast on a national scale, has been adopted by other regions and similar songs begin to appear everywhere.

The songs belonging to particular regions are changed or are being forgotten. Another aspect is that the folk songs which were performed and interpreted differently on every occasion for centuries have lost their dynamism due to the practice of setting them down in writing and moreover, the songs have been sung by urban musicians and broadcasted continually in the same style. A further important cause is the drastic changes occurring in the social and therefore cultural structure of our country which is entering into a specially rapid process of industrialization. Industrialization has brought changes in social life and the consumer economy in its wake. Still another cause is the immigration from the villages into the cities. As a result of these immigrations, the village population is gradually decreasing while the urban population has experienced a rapid increase. The peasant population settled in the cities have brought their tastes and habits together with their cultural life but are confronted with a different culture in the city.

Turkish folk music has a verbal tradition. The people who are accustomed to express their feeling and thoughts by music with a verbal preference maintain this tradition. However, there is a reality which shows itself as a change of form. In this case, shifting the traditional folk values from the village to the city has caused the appearance of a new kind of folk music in the cities. In a period when the Aşık tradition which created the two basic sources of our traditional folk music has almost disappeared and the original people who composed or performed the folk songs are diminishing in number, a kind of folk music has appeared in the ghettos of the big cities and has spread rapidly in the last 30 years. While in the old times, most folk music composers were anonymous, nowadays compositions have been realized in the form and tune of folk music. These new compositions which mostly look alike and have no regional characteristics have brought vulgarity and shallowness with them.

The development of technology, industry and consumer economy have directed people toward some simple music which they can easily enjoy and popular music has been converted into a form where many kinds of music are mixed and there is no trace of identity. Undoubtedly this should be evaluated as a worldwide phenomenon. Globalization has caused a worldwide uniformity due to the interaction of economic and cultural phenomena.

Consequently, if we realise that we live in a cultural environment where everything affects every other thing rapidly and on a large scale, this outcome should be accepted as an ordinary event. The source of folk music has not been extinguished, rather people have formed a new kind of music depending on the changing cultural, social and economic conditions.

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It follows from the tragedy-reporting characteristics of the folk ballad that ethical and moral issues appear directly or indirectly, generally in a social context related to the history of the people concerned. Such issues include incest, cannibalism and the dilemma of loyalty or disloyalty. No single genre of folk poetry is capable of covering all aspects of ethics. Indeed, it can be said that scholarly classification is not even capable of tracing ethics in all aspects of folklore. Nevertheless, there are moral issues which typically appear in ballads and this genre is capable of throwing light on details regarding the essence of traditional morality and behaviour which are hidden parts of folk culture. The concept of justice is relative and its evaluation changes from one period to another. As a result, the ethical attitude of the ballads, the message embedded in the action is barely understandable for today's values and it is only with the help of analysis carried out by experts that we can learn the real meaning.

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